STUDIES IN ITALIAN MEDIEVAL HISTORY

PRESENTED TO

Miss E. M. JAMISON

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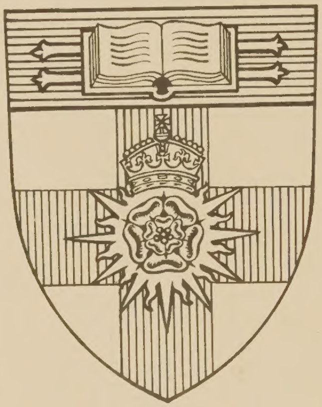

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STUDIES IN ITALIAN MEDIEVAL HISTORY

presented to
MISS E. M. JAMISON

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PHILIP GRIERSON AND JOHN WARD PERKINS

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DEDICATION

This volume, in honour of Miss E. M. Jamison, is mainly devoted to papers on South Italian history, the field of study with which her name is most closely associated.

In view of this fact, and in view of the relations of mutual esteem and affection which have long subsisted between Miss Jamison and Italian scholars working in the same field, the following societies, some of whose most distinguished members are amongst the contributors to the present volume, have asked that their names shall be associated with that of the British School at Rome in its publication:

Deputazione di Storia Patria per gli Abruzzi.
Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia.
Società Napoletana di Storia Patria.
Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria.

FOREWORD

The essays printed in this volume are a tribute to a scholar and a personality. Her scholarship, as the contents show, is distinctive, centred in the Mediterranean world of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, capturing both the spirit of the age when (in the words she once quoted from Aimé of Monte Cassino) knights were 'happy and joyful on their horses as they rode up and down to seek their fortunes' as well as the critical disillusionment of the later Hohenstaufen period; her personality such as to unite in mutual regard and understanding medieval historians of Italy and England. Evelyn Jamison can indeed be termed *anima Latina*, which stands for clarity of expression and the wisdom of tradition and experience. As much at home in the Abruzzi or the *terra Beneventana* as in the quadrangles and gardens of her own University of Oxford, she belongs to a small and rare group of Englishwomen who in making Italy their second home have reinvigorated the ancient friendship between our two countries.

Such persons we often associate with Greek, Roman or Etruscan archaeology or with Renaissance studies. The panther which in the footsteps of the Divine Poet Miss Jamison has sought throughout the woods and hilly places of Italy is a medieval quarry : it is all the traces of Norman rule and institutions planted in the mainland and in Sicily during the great twelfth-century period of colonisation, the government of a state which combined vigorous local life with a large degree of centralised control; and the careers of the tenacious men, endowed with exceptional vitality, who could turn from administration to crusading and back again to absorb for the benefit of their fiefs the best features in the régimes they had superseded. It was the Normans of the mainland, Apulia and Capua, to which her early studies were devoted. In her first large-scale work, published by the British School at Rome, she was able, through her archival and diplomatic technique and her exceptional topographical *flair*, to depict the Norman system of administration and order, both judicial and fiscal, at work, and at the same time to lay bare the foundations of the later Neapolitan kingdom. But while she was presenting the material for a new and revised constitutional portrait of Roger II, she was also exploring the peculiarities of government by the feudatories, notably in the county of Molise, which she was able to do from local archives in the Abruzzi. The need of drawing closer to the Norman baronage she had felt from a comparatively early stage : hence, several years on, the plan for a new edition of the *Catalogus Baronum* from a more critical angle, outlined at the Zurich Congress in 1938 and now at length reaching fruition, as well as her many critical essays and reviews that start from charters of enfeoffment or conveyances, around which she builds convincing studies of Norman self-interest harnessed to the public weal. While she has taken Norman government on the mainland through into its Angevin sequel, particularly in Naples, in more recent years her work has increasingly centred upon Sicily, which in the second or post-pioneering phase of Norman rule became the focus and raison d'être of the whole unit (now termed *regnum Siciliae et Italiae*), the precious island that chance more than deliberate policy was to put in the way of the German emperors. Some of her most interesting articles are concerned with the relations between the Sicilian and the Angevin courts in the days when the island lay in the Welf-Angevin sphere. In one important paper she asserted the value of the English chroniclers of the later twelfth century for Anglo-Sicilian history (one may note especially her observations on their accounts of Joanna's marriage with William II or on Richard I's crusade); in another she considered the alliance of Sicily and England in its political and cultural significance. Her most recent publication, under the aegis of the British Academy, calendars documents illustrating the career of the Sicilian Admiral Eugenius. But Sicily has by no means claimed her wholly: the logic of Norman institutions takes her back again to the peninsula, and of late she has been writing on the justiciars and chamberlains of Calabria.

Were the name of the recipient of these essays by some curious chance concealed, the very titles would of themselves indicate the width and originality of Miss Jamison's achievement, ranking (to name only the defunct) with that of Chalandon, Haskins and Siragusa. The association of distinguished Italian medievalists, notably of those connected with the Istituto Storico Italiano, with scholars and archaeologists familiar to the British School and other institutes of Rome attests these qualities; most of all, perhaps, the range and highly objective character of the contributions, from Byzantium to fourteenth-century Florence, and the variety of the sources employed convey the impression she has always created: of a specialist who is at the same time a general historian of wide and humane accomplishment.

There are some who look with pity upon the scholar involved in administrative duties. Miss Jamison has taken no such view. From 1921, when she succeeded Dr Eleanor Lodge, the historian of Gascony under English rule, until 1937, she was Vice-Principal of Lady Margaret Hall. At that time she was already one of the best known history tutors in the University, and her new duties did not impede her scholarly work. The Vice-Principal's obligations are pastoral as well as administrative: even at the older Universities women's colleges aim, perhaps more consciously than men's, at developing and integrating the lives of their students. Tastefully unconventional, never oppressed by such responsibility, Miss Jamison was a discriminating guide as well as a beloved figure in her Hall. It would not indeed be true to apply to her the latter part of her own dictum upon her friend and noble mentor, Dame Elizabeth Wordsworth, that 'with a family tradition of dignified living she combined a genius for personal discomfort'; but she has always been too much a traveller and an archive-hunter to put comforts first. One thinks of her as most at home among muniments and records in those remote places where facilities for research have not always equalled the good will and helpfulness which their custodians, honoured by her visit, unfailingly display. For these expeditions, as for other parts of her research, the British School at Rome of which she is a valued member has provided a base and such facilities as are needed by scholars engaged on archival work in Italy. The School, richly repaid by her distinction, now presents to her the volume it has organised, in token of friendship and gratitude.

E. F. Jacob

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IN PREPARATION

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(ARTICLES)

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(REVIEWS)

7. Review of *I Documenti originali dei Re Normanni di Sicilia*, Raccolti e pubblicati in Facsimile sotto gli auspici della Regione Siciliana a cura di Antonino de Stefano e Franco Bartoloni, Fasc. I, II, e dell'Archivio paleografico italiano XIV, Fasc., 60, 61, Rome—Palermo 1954. *English Historical Review*.

THE FILOCALIAN LETTER

(Plates I–IV)

To the student of Christian archaeology the name of Filocalus is a household word. The surviving evidence of his work has been investigated by the most eminent scholars since the time of Mommsen[1] and de Rossi,[2] and, recently definitive studies both of his inscriptions,[3] and of the copies of his lost manuscript[4] have been produced. This essay is an attempt to see this achievement in a wider setting, the whole history of the art of lettering. I hope to demonstrate that Filocalian lettering is not an isolated phenomenon, a magnificent dead end, but rather an extension of the potentialities of the art in which he worked, potentialities which through the centuries have been further explored in various directions, and which to-day are being worked more than ever before.

To recapitulate briefly what is established: the fragmentary knowledge which we have of the work of Filocalus immediately establishes him as very remarkable. The names of both Roman and medieval practitioners of lettering are known, but of none do their works give us any clear impression of personality. Filocalus is comparable rather to the great printers, or to such modern artists as Rudolf Koch or Eric Gill; like them his work has the quality of originality, in his case in a very high degree, which marks it as the product of the conscious artist. We know also that he had a remarkable range of talent, though its exact extent is debatable, and that he must have been a man of education and high reputation. He was certainly a designer of both written and carved lettering, possibly also a painter and author. As a calligrapher he is known from the manuscript called the *Calendar of* 354. Unfortunately not only is the manuscript itself lost, but the most complete copy, a Carolingian manuscript, is now known only through a sixteenth century copy. The frontispiece of this and other copies reproduces a dedication in which two cupids hold a tablet inscribed 'Valentine lege feliciter, Valentine vivas floreas, Valentine vivas gaudeas, Furius Dionysius Filocalus titulavit.' The word 'titulavit' presumably refers directly to the layout and execution of the lettering on this particular page. But the prominence of Filocalus' name and the absence of that of any artist or author naturally raises the question of his responsibility also for the illustrations,[5] which must have been important examples of late antique art, and for the contents of the book, which include a calendar of both Roman and Christian celebrations together with various lists, chronicles and astrological material and which are clearly the work of a man of learning. The page is also evidence of the relation between Filocalus and Valentine which, as has been pointed out, must have approached intimacy and equality. This is all in the year 352–353.

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[1] 'Ueber den Chronographen von Jahre 354,' *Abhandlungen d. königl. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, i, 607.

[2] *Roma sotterranea*, i (1864), pp. 119, 292; ii (1867), p. 196.

[3] A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, 1942.

[4] H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de* 354. *Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations* (Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique. Vol. iv, Paris, 1953).

[5] The copies are reproduced by H. Stern, *op. cit.*

The carved lettering that we know is twenty years later. Three fragments, all of which seem to have borne the same signature '*Furius Dionysius Filocalus scribsit*' have been found.[6] These are inscribed in a style which is immediately recognisable (Pl. I, *a;* II, *a*) and of which many other examples exist, all, in so far as enough of the text survives for it to be identifiable, transcriptions of poems by Pope Damasus I in honour of martyrs whose tombs the inscriptions originally embellished. Pope Damasus reigned from 366 to 384. Filocalus was clearly his official letter-cutter; de Rossi suggests further that his lettering was definitely reserved for the cult of the martyrs. Epitaphs, composed by Pope Damasus have, however, survived which cannot have been carved by Filocalus,[7] from which it appears that he was not appointed at the beginning of the pontificate, possibly not until the troubles between Damasus and the anti-Pope Ursinus were over. J. Vives produces arguments that Filocalus died before his patron.[8] Fr. Ferrua has suggested that the inscribed work which we know was done between about 370 and 383.

A question which has been raised is whether these inscriptions were actually cut, or only drawn on the stone, by Filocalus. Internal evidence suggests the former. The vigour of the cutting, in contrast to that of imitations, and letter forms which are freely regular, not mechanically similar, give the impression rather of a master working freshly within a rough lay-out than of a craftsman incising another man's elaborately painted copy.

Again in these inscriptions we are given an insight into the relation between patron and artist. Filocalus describes himself as 'Damasi pappae cultor atque amator.' Again it suggests a relation more friendly than servile, and this time there is no doubt of the eminence of the friend. His very name indeed, whether self-chosen or bestowed by admirers, is a claim for the high status of Filocalus' art. Kaufmann assumes his origin to have been in the Hellenistic east[9], but Fr. Ferrua produces philological evidence in favour of Africa.[10] There is no doubt, however, that his immediate and close association was with Rome.

Fr. Ferrua has carefully analysed all the characteristics of the Filocalian letter[11] and distinguished genuine examples from those executed by imitators or pupils. About thirty of the former exist in whole or in part, of which the most magnificent examples are those at S. Agnese fuori le Mura (Ferrua No. 37), S. Sebastiano (No. 21) and in the catacomb of S. Pretestato (No. 25) (Pl. II, *a*).[12] Comparison with modern examples of his letter shows the subtlety of the style which Filocalus evolved. The modern letterer almost always bifurcates every termination automatically. Filocalus differentiates between vertical and horizontal strokes, between joins of uprights and curves, and uprights and diagonals; his individual letter forms, particularly R, P, T, are also deliberate and characteristic. A certain progression in his work has been traced, chiefly in the evolution of his technique of spacing, whereby lines of verse are made to coincide with width of stone, and in the variation in his use of ligatures and smaller sized letters (Pl. I, *a*). But the letter itself appears as if created fully formed in the mind of the artist. The only inscription of which I am aware which is different, and yet gives the impression of a master hand working on the same lines, is a fragment from the catacombs of S. Valentino[13] (Pl. I, *b*). One wonders whether it may represent early experimental lettering; certainly the terminations are much nearer to pen-made forms than in the fully developed style.[14] This question of course brings us back to the consideration of the relation between Filocalus' inscriptions and his calligraphy. Unfortunately the copy of the title-page may give us only a very imperfect idea of the latter.[15] Two things, however, are clear. Firstly that it shows a pronounced interest in lay-out, based on variation in size, but not, as in the classical tradition, in type of letter. Secondly that of the types of formal hand which we know from surviving fourth century manuscripts the original is unlikely to have been written either in uncial or in rustic capitals; the copy shows fine Roman capitals of square proportions. It must have been written either in the third known type, the *capitalis quadrata* (Pl. II, *c*), or in some other monumental letter of which we have no example.

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[6] Ferrua, *op. cit.*, Nos. 18, 18^2, 27.

[7] *Ibid.*, Nos. 10, 11.

[8] J. Vives, 'Damasus i Filocalus,' *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia*, ii, 1926, p. 483.

[9] C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der Altchristlichen Epigraphik*, p. 27 f.

[10] 'Filocalo, L'Amante della bella Lettera,' *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1939, p. 41.

[11] *Epig. Damas.*, p. 22.

[12] No. 37 is reproduced in E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae* (1912), pl. 36, and all three by A. Silvagni, *Monumenta Epigraphica christiana*, i, Tab. v–ix.

M. Stern holds the latter opinion and considers that the lettering of the title page had no relation to that of Vatican, MS. lat 3256, the most famous example of the *capitalis quadrata*, but reproduces the style of Filocalus' inscriptions. Fr. Ferrua, however, has pointed out that the only parallel for the proportions of this inscribed lettering is in the written *capitalis quadrata.* It is not only much wider than any classical monumental letter in individual letter forms, but the width of the heavy stroke is far thicker, and the contrast between heavy and light stroke is enormously exaggerated.[16] In carved lettering it is a revolutionary innovation without prototype. But the pen, unlike the chisel, will, if cut square and wide, necessarily produce a strong contrast between thick and thin. It seems inconceivable that Filocalus the calligrapher should not have been, at the very least, strongly influenced by the contemporary *capitalis quadrata.* A further consideration is raised by M. Mallon's thesis that this was not, as has usually been assumed, a traditional Roman hand. He has pointed out[17] that very few examples[18] are known and that none are now considered earlier than fourth century. He has also pointed out the very peculiar characteristics of the writing of the Vatican MS. The verticals are in general very heavily made, but R, N and M have verticals which are hair lines, involving therefore a difficult turning of the pen, while the diagonals of A and Z which are similar in direction are in one letter thin and in the other thick. It is an artificial, not a traditional hand : 'il semble que les lettres de l'alphabet aient été comme déssinées, chacune à part, soit sans autre regle que les préoccupations esthétiques. Le texte de Virgile n'est pas écrit par un scribe, il est comme executé d'un bout à l'autre par un dessinateur de lettres.' The St. Gall page is rather different. The thin stem of R has disappeared, while M and A have straighter diagonals, without the suspicion of a curve, which has made paleographers note that the writer of Vatican 3256 had not altogether abandoned a rustic habit of thought (though the pen here is actually held straighter). M. Mallon considers Sangallensis 1394 to be also the work of an artist, while Mr. Morison characterises both as pieces of 'lettering,' obeying inscriptional conventions.[19]

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[13] Ferrua, *Epig. Damas*, No. 49^2. Marucchi, *Bull. comm. arch.*, 1927, p. 264; 1928, p. 123.

[14] Compare these terminations with those of the upper curve of G and C, and of S, in Vat. 3256.

[15] I have the impression that Peiresc's copy, reproduced by Stern, Pl. I, is reliable. One can see how the scribe has tried to copy carefully letters made with a wide pen, held straight, by pressing on a fine pen.

[16] The proportion of height, to thick stroke, to thin stroke, is 5 : 1 : hair line; in the Trajan column lettering it is 10 : 1 : ¾–½; in *capitalis quadrata* it is 12 : 3 : 2-hair line.

[17] J. Mallon, *Paléographie Romaine* (1952), p. 153.

[18] The known examples are Vatican MS. lat. 3256, the 'Augusteus Virgil' of which 3 leaves are in Berlin; St. Gall MS. 1394, reproduced Chatelain, *Paleographie des classiques latines*, Pl. lxii; Verona palimpsest, Chatelain, pl. lxxv; Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1098, Grenfell and Hunt, viii, pl. vi; all fragmentary texts of Virgil. In the last two, details of style can scarcely be distinguished in reproduction.

If the *Capitalis quadrata* was an invention of a fourth century artist, the case for identifying that artist with Filocalus, as has often been suggested[20] is clearly very much strengthened. Such an assumption not only very much enhances his importance, it also shows his originality to have been even more startling. The pen may still have prompted his invention, but it appears that the proportions he introduced were altogether unprecedented, and proportion is a fundamental factor in lettering. To appreciate fully his genius one has to call to mind the sort of lettering current in the mid fourth century. If his proportions were new the other characteristic of his style, the curly serif, was in a much simpler form in common use. The idea of bifurcating letter terminations, natural if the stem is carved by running the chisel down either side, seems to be of Greek origin. One sees it in Greek inscriptions of the first and second centuries B.C.,[21] and the earliest Latin example given by Hübner is in Greece, on the architrave of the inner Propylaea at Eleusis, built by Appius Claudius Pulcher between 50 and 48 B.C. That seems to have quite regular spiky, fish-tailed, terminations.[22] Another inscription, of the time of Augustus according to Hübner, has much more interesting wayward curls (Pl. III, *a*); it comes from St. Lizier near Toulouse and is an epitaph beginning with the abbreviation .[23]Θ One sees also in early imperial inscriptions, particularly it seems in the provinces, an interest in the decorative use of ligatures and letters carved inside one another, but the development of Roman lettering towards its classic period seems to have been away from such interests towards the perfection of the straight-and-small-seriffed, regular monumental letter of the second century. Yet contemporary with this not only the rustic, but that slightly compressed letter which is often combined with it, and used for more modest inscriptions, both introduce a lively rhythm along the vertical terminations: the latter through diagonally set serifs, particularly to the diagonals of A, M, N, V.[24] The Christian inscriptions which in the third century present a new type of lettering (Pl. III, *b*) stem from this tendency. In them the bifurcated termination reappears, again perhaps due to Greek influence; it is common in Greek Christian inscriptions. One wonders also whether the fish-tailed idea did not appeal for symbolic reasons, which were obviously present when in the seventh century the fish-tailed initial is complete with the fish's body. The style of the catacombs, which is common to the whole early Christian Western World, is often characterised as decadent, or a continuation of the 'vulgar' Roman inscription. Certainly it is difficult to appreciate its charm as one usually sees it, divorced from its original setting and plastered, often in fragments, pell-mell on the walls of museums and cloisters.[25] But if one discards, like the carvers, the arbitrary canons of regularity and uniformity one finds a touchingly modest art, lively and individual, often with great felicity and invention of design, particularly in the relation of letter disposition to incised symbol.[26]

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[19] S. Morison, *Notes on the development of Latin script* (1949), p. 2.

[20] A connection was suggested by Zangemeister and Wattenbach, *Exempla Codicum Latinorum* (1876). Authorship by Filocalus or his school is assumed by A. Schenkl in *Festschrift für O. Berndorf* (1898), p. 29.

[21] See J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* (1935), pls. 44 and 47, A.D. 4 and 42; Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1913), pls. 42, 46, second century.

[22] Hübner, *Exampla Scripturae Epigraphicae Latinae* (1885), p. 3 with a woodcut also reproduced *C.I.L.*, i, no. 618; iii, no. 547. An indistinct photograph is reproduced in Hörmann, *Die Inneren Propylaen von Eleusis* (1933), Taf. 42b.

[23] *C.I.L.*, xiii, 5; catalogue of the Museum (1912), no. 258.

[24] A beautiful example of this type of letter is reproduced in F. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie* (1903), p. 7.

Filocalus rejected all this. As Fr. Ferrua says, his letter is a classical letter, both in its forms and in its regularity and precision, but it is classical with a difference. Its great width and deep shadow and exultant curves make imperial inscriptions look thin and prosaic. It has as de Rossi says 'una carattere trionfale.' Above all it is a letter of its time; of the time of St. Damasus and of St. Jerome, combining, in its limited form as completely as possible the inheritance of Rome[27] and the vision of the Church. One might call it a patristic letter, but it is also a local Roman letter belonging to the brief but mature period between the triumph of the church and the first sack of Rome.[28] Perhaps that is why it had, in its complete form, no future.

Undoubtedly in his lifetime, Filocalus had pupils or imitators.[29] Soon after his death the letter which he invented disappears, but its influence persists, and if one thinks of the possibility of subtracting that influence one realises its potency. The characteristic which seems to have been immediately discarded is that of the extreme contrast between thick and thin: no doubt, in carving at least, due to the laboriousness of cutting such wide lines.[30] As de Rossi has pointed out,[31] the official papal inscription in Rome was revolutionised. A comparison of the pre-Filocalian epitaphs erected by Pope Damasus to his mother and sister, in unformed, compressed lettering,[32] with that of Leo I (440–461) at S. Paolo fuori le Mura[33] gives the measure of the change. By far the grandest example of this style is the mosaic inscription of Pope Celestine (422–432) in S. Sabina, to my mind perhaps the finest of all Latin monumental inscriptions; Filocalian influence is clear in the occasional curved serifs of R, A, B, T (Pl. IV, *a*). And one can follow the tradition of wide, well spaced letters with bifurcated serifs from the lettering round the Lateran font (432–440)[34] to that of Pope Vigilius (537–555)[35] and that of Gerontius,[36] cousin to Pope Hormisdas, in 564, though the progressive decline in the standard of execution is very noticeable.[37] And it is surely this tradition which was revived in the epitaph of Nicholas I (*ob.* 867)[38] which introduces curls on the spur of G, tail of Q and cross bar of A, and again in the lettering from the palace of Theodora Senatrix (*c.* 920)[39] where the terminations to S are trefoil; while in the great inscription of Leo VI (928–929) at S. Paolo fuori le Mura they are slightly fish-tailed.[40] Finally the distinctive papal style of the late tenth and early eleventh century is based on width of letter and spacing quite distinct from either classical or Carolingian models, which surely attests the strength and persistence of local Roman influence; as indeed might be expected from the history of early medieval Rome.[41]

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[25] Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae* (1912), pl. 32–35.

[26] This is shown very clearly in the illustrations to O. Beyer, *Frühchristliche Sinnbilder und Inschriften.*

[27] M. Stern (p. 113) emphasises that the *Calendar of 354*, though clearly intended for a Christian recipient and incorporating Christian elements, is a product of traditional Roman pagan culture. One might note that all the known examples of *capitalis quadrata* are texts of Virgil.

[28] M. Stern also points out that while 'l'illustration du Calendrier est une oeuvre toute "moderne" en 354,' part of the artistic renaissance of the second half of the fourth century, it is also an example of a civilisation 'qui encore vivante en 354, va disparaitre à la fin du siècle.'

[29] Ferrua, *Epig. Damas.*; see also Wilpert, 'Inschriften aus der Werkstätte des Furius Dionysius Philokalus, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1908, p. 134.

[30] This is clear in the comparison of the original Filocalian fragment of the elogium of S. Eusebius in the catacomb of S. Callisto, with the sixth century copy now beside it; reproduced together by S. Morison, *Fleuron* (1926).

[31] De Rossi, *Roma Sotterannea*, i (1864), p. 121.

[32] Ferrua, *Epig. Damas.*, Nos. 10, 11.

[33] Reproduced in Silvagni, *Mon. Chris. Epig.*, i, pl. x. 5.

[34] *Ibid.*, i, pl. x. 4.

[35] *Ibid.*, i, pl. xi. 7.

[36] Reproduced Marucchi, *Museo Pio Lateranese* (1888), Tav L.

In manuscripts the Filocalian influence is not so easy to trace, but perhaps more potent. No later books written in square capitals survive, but after the fifth century they become more and more frequent as initials and as titlings, and it is remarkable how many of these initials and titlings have curly serifs. This certainly suggests some influential prototype, and is strong evidence in favour of Filocalus having introduced curls into his calligraphy, not presumably into a book hand but into such carefully designed pieces of lay-out as the title-page to the *Calendar.* Further evidence is provided both by the initials of Vatican MS. 3256, some of which are embellished with curls (Fig. 1,*a*), and also by the titling in Fig. 1, *i*, a late sixth century manuscript at Wölfenbüttel (Aug. 36. 23—2403) which is so close to Filocalus' inscriptional letter that one wonders if it is not a copy from his original calligraphy. The probability that he did pen lettering with curly serifs does not seem to me to preclude his also having invented *capitalis quadrata.* For all the evidence, as has been noted, points to his having been a conscious and inventive artist, likely therefore, in the course of a long career, to have created more than one distinctive letter.

The development and elaboration of initials and titling can be clearly traced in the centuries before the Carolingian renaissance. Titling occurs in both uncial and rustic, but it is surely out of the unformulated square capital that it develops into those rows of ornamental letters which are common in seventh and eighth century French and Italian books (Pl. IV, *b*). The proportions of these letters are normally compressed, following the fashion of contemporary Lombard and Merovingian inscriptions,[42] but unlike these the terminations are embellished with elaborate curls. Figures *e* to *h*[42a] are sixth century examples which seem to show a tradition from some square, curly-seriffed prototype.

The initial, on the other hand, seems to develop quite independently of contemporary carved lettering, which outside the tradition already noticed in Rome shows everywhere a strong tendency to compression and to ornamentation through variation of the actual forms of letters through heart or diamond shaped O, various eccentric forms of G, and serifs prolonged and accentuated, but not bifurcated: in fact, a continuation of the early Christian tradition. The initial, of which,

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[37] The long inscription of Gregory I of 604 like the lettering on the mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano (526–530) is wide and regular but the serifs are plain.

[38] Reproduced Silvagni, *op. cit.*, pl. ii. 7.

[39] *Ibid.*, i, pl. xxxix. 6.

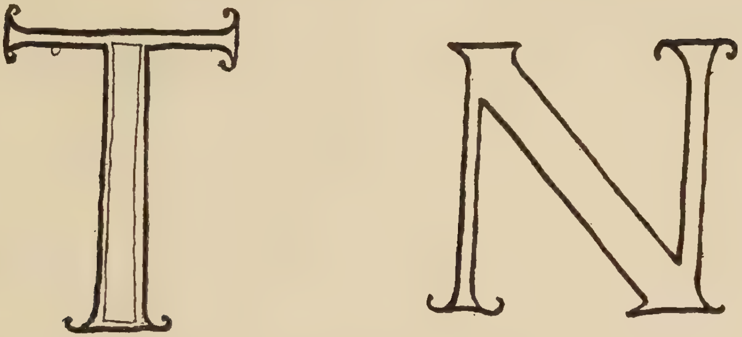
[40] *Ibid.*, i, pl. xxxviii. 5.

[41] See N. Gray, 'The paleography of Latin inscriptions in VIII, IX and X centuries in Italy', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xvi, 1948, pp. 139, 160.

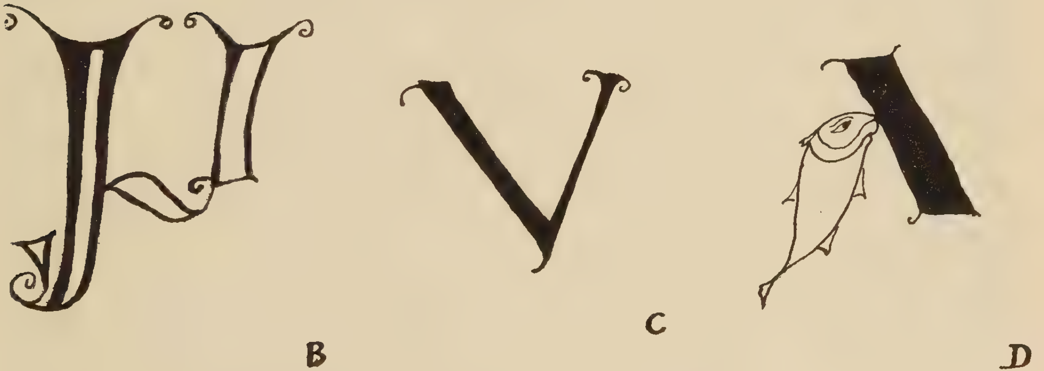
[42] Silvagni, *Mon. Epig. Christ.*, ii, fasc. B, pl. ii and iv; Hubert, *L'Art pré-roman*, pls. xxii, xxxvii.

[42a] From Lowe, *Cod. lat. antiq.*, nos. 266, 437, 298, 506, 550, 331, 197.

A. Initials from Vatican Ms. 3256



B. C. D. Vth & VIth century Initials



E–H VIth century Titling & Initials.

FACVNDIVENERABILISEPI

E

MVNDI

YCH

G

DESCRIBTIO

EXP

F

H

I. Titling from Wolfenbüttel Aug. 36.23

DEALLVBIONE

Fig. 1

according to Zimmermann, Vatican MS. 3256 is the earliest example,[43] develops instead as a wide letter, originally curly-seriffed, then fish-tailed or floriated, until finally it becomes the magnificent decorated letter of Carolingian and Romanesque manuscripts.[44] One can trace the evolution through the beautiful letters of the Trent fifth century purple gospels (some of uncial form) (fig. *c*), early fish-incorporating letters of the sixth century (fig. *d*) and the already exuberant curls of the Cathach of St. Columba (fig. *b*); one wonders how much the Irish scribe added to those of his copy. Seventh century manuscripts show a wide variety of examples. Plate IV, *b* is an example of initial and titling of the eighth century.

The Carolingian reformers seem to have known, considered, and finally rejected the original Filocalian letter in both its forms. We know that they were interested in it, for several copies[45] of the *Calendar* were made at this period. The well known collections of Roman inscriptions[46] for pilgrims also include the texts of St. Damasus, and though some of the originals may already have been forgotten in the catacombs some were still to be seen in various churches.[47] In their inscriptions the ninth century carvers definitely imitated classical square capitals, but one feature they seem to have borrowed from Filocalus, their use of small letters inside curved letters, and of ligatures, in fine, formal inscriptions, a usage copied from them again in the early Renaissance[48] (compare Pl. I, *a* and Pl. III, *c*). In certain Carolingian manuscripts one sees experiments with Filocalian proportions, for instance in the Gospels from Sta Maria ad Martyres, Trier Cod. 23 (Pl. IV, *d*) and British Museum Harley 2788, while in others they use a narrower letter but one with curly serifs, as in the Psalter of Charles the Great in Vienna or the Gospels in Paris, Arsenal Cod. 599 (Pl. IV, *c*). But the letter which they eventually established as the majuscule norm was the lighter, undecorated letter which is scarcely more heavily shaded than the second century Roman prototype. The Filocalian tradition remained however as the basis of decorative forms.

It might I suppose be considered that it was his invention which produced two essential elements in the formation of the round Gothic majuscule (so-called Lombardic), developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the exaggerated serif, and the contrast of hair line and deep shaping. But the classical form and the classical feeling which are of the essence of the original idea are lost, and do not reappear, as far as I know, for about four hundred years. The classical letter revived at the Renaissance was antiquarian or theoretical, based on classical or Carolingian models or on theories of proportion in which the height of the letter was related to the width of thick stroke and of thin stroke as $12:1:\frac{1}{2}$;[49] or $10:1:\frac{1}{3}$.[50] In practice the period between the end of the Gothic and the complete acceptance of classical, which varied so greatly according to place and people, produced an immense variety of fancy letters out of the great stock of the past, but no true style.

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[43] Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, p. 3.

[44] E. A. van Moe, *Die Schöne Initiale* (1943), gives examples also of the normal Carolingian majuscule.

[45] Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[46] Published in de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (1888), ii. See also A. Silvagni, *Nuovo ordinamento delle sillogi epigrafiche*, Diss. Pontif. Accad. Rom. di Arch., 1921.

[47] In the sixteenth century five were still to be seen in churches according to De Rossi, *Roma sotierranea*, i, 118.

[48] For example the epitaph of Nicholas V.

[49] Damiano da Moille (see *A newly discovered treatise on classic letter design*, ed. S. Morison, 1927).

[50] A Dürer, *Of the just shaping of letters* (Grolier Club, 1917).

Most of such initials and lettering on metal or wood seem to be adaptions of the 'Lombardic' or revivals of the Carolingian, though one sees some letters near to Filocalian, for instance that reproduced by Weimar from Kiedrich in Rheingau.[51] More interesting are the beginnings of a new architectural lettering, in great relief letters or actually free standing, like a balustrade. Of these the best are sanserif[52] but some, for instance, the F on the chimney of Francis I at Blois, are decorated, and the curious semi-classical grand letters inside the lantern at Burgos cathedral have erratic curly serifs.

With real command of the classical style in the arts, experiments in the classical letter returned. The seventeenth and eighteenth century monumental letter is not just a revival, but a new form of Roman, usually a wider letter with greater contrast of thick and thin.[53] The second characteristic is of course typical of the great typographical innovation, the *modern face* perfected by Didot in 1784 and Bodoni in 1787. About thirty years earlier, Fournier le Jeune had designed a decorated type (Pl. IV, *e*) which appears to be based directly on Filocalus' carved letter, though whether he actually knew that work is an open question.[54] Wide, decorated classical letters also begin to appear on tombstones.[55] Both in the typefaces and in incised lettering a feeling new since the fourth century to lettering is manifest, a great sense of dignity and form combined with a need for the dramatic and expressive. Pl. II, *b* is an example of street lettering from Bath, surely the finest street lettering in Europe, and is carved in stone, probably about 1800. It is larger than Filocalus' lettering, and meant to be seen at a greater distance. Earlier examples at Bath are more subtle in form but not so wide. A charming decorated example is on the gateway to Brighton Pavilion dated 1832. With the nineteenth century the Filocalian letter becomes a type and an architectural letter in common use, the *Tuscan*,[56] and it remains so to-day when it may be seen on advertisements or in neon lighting in any European city. But again it is with a difference. The brilliant innovations of Filocalus have all now become permanent features in the art of lettering. They are there for all to use in whatever combination they will. But the actual lettering which he invented, though its spirit has perhaps been periodically imitated, has become a type only in a simplified or generalised form. It itself remains unique, the creation of a period and a very remarkable artist.

NICOLETE GRAY

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[51] W. Weimar, *Monumentalschriften vergangener Jahrhunderte* (1898), pl. xxxv, 39.

[52] E.g. at La Ferté Bernard (Vitry and Brière, *Documents de sculpture française*, i, pl. 63) and at Felbrigg (Norfolk) and Castle Ashby (Summerson, *Architecture in England*, 1530–1830, pl. 48 b.).

[53] E.g. the inscription round the Painted Hall at Greenwich Naval College (Thornhill, 1707–1717), or that above the colonnade of Chelsea Hospital dated 1692.

[54] Mr. Morison discusses this and the Filocalian tradition in decorated type faces in *Fleuron* (1926).

[55] F. Burgess, 'English sepulchral monuments,' *Monumental Journal*, 1949.

[56] N. Gray, *Nineteenth century ornamental types on Title Pages* (1938), p. 33, and note on Tuscan lettering in the *Architectural Review* ,cxvi (Oct. 1954), pp. 259-61.

A BYZANTINE(?) CASTLE IN THE VAL DI MAGRA: *SURIANUM*—FILATTIERA

(Plate V)

THE steep-sloped, one-hundred-and-ninety-foot hill on the north crest of which lies the village of Filattiera dominates the valley of the Magra between Pontremoli and Aulla and provides a remarkable view of the mountain-ranges to the north-east, north and west. The village itself still has very much the appearance of a late-medieval community in which considerations of defence predominated over all others. First recorded in 1029 among lands sold to the Otbertings[1] and subsequently an important 'fief' of the Malaspina, Filattiera's documented history is carried back another three centuries by a unique inscription of the reign of Aistulf (749–757) discovered in 1910 in the chapel of S. Giorgio.[2] In spite of a puzzling reference to the destruction of idols, there seems no good reason for doubting the inscription's authenticity.[3] It has been the starting-point of a number of local studies of great interest, coming in particular from the pen of Signor U. Formentini, which because of their publication in periodicals with a limited circulation have not attracted the attention they deserve.

My own interest in Filattiera was aroused by the statement of a guide-book[4] that the chapel of S. Giorgio was associated with the remains of a 'castle.' The conjunction of an eighth-century inscription, the dedication to St. George, a warrior-saint particularly favoured in parts of the Byzantine Empire threatened by invasion,[5] the hill-top site which is suggestive of post-Roman origin, and the name itself (*Feleteria* in 1029, *Flecteria* in 1276),[6] sounding remarkably like the Greek φυλακτήριον, could scarcely be dismissed as accidental. They certainly suggested that the remains of the 'castle' would be worth investigation. For half-a-century, from *c.* 590 to 641–642, the Byzantines defended the *provincia Maritima Italorum*,[7] which embraced modern Liguria and the north-western corner of Tuscany, against the Lombards. These had previously occupied western Emilia, probably almost to the Apennine watershed, and reached the Tuscan coast further south. Filattiera overlooks one of the natural routes of access to this coastal strip.

There is other evidence for the existence of a Byzantine *castrum* in this area. The text given in the *Liber Pontificalis* of the much-discussed donation of Charles the Great to the Papacy in 774 incorporates a *confinium* which begins with the well-known words *a Lunis cum insula Corsica deinde in Suriano deinde in monte Bardone id est in Verceto.*[8] It seems now to be generally accepted that except for some fairly obvious interpolations, such as that relating to Corsica, the papal writer of 774 (or of 754 if the text of the later date is a simple copy) was making use here of the text of a lost Byzantine-Lombard treaty of the end of the sixth century, which in turn was based on an Itinerary or 'road-map.'[9] The first and last of the places named in the section quoted offer no difficulties. Luni is the once important *civitas* at the mouth of the Magra.[10] Berceto[11] is a village some distance north of the Apennine watershed, close to the road that leads down from the Passo della Cisa to the Emilian plain. It came into existence on this site in the decades immediately before 754 around a monastery founded in the time of King Liutprand by a pilgrim bishop of Rheims who had been attracted by the loneliness of Monte Bardone.[12] Schneider argued convincingly that the places named in the 'treaty' were all either *civitates* or garrisoned strong-points, *castra*.[13] To judge from its name, Monte Bardone in the sixth century was an Apennine outpost of the Lombards :[14] *Surianum* was in all probability its Byzantine counterpart south of the Cisa, whose use as a major crossing of the Apennines is here documented for the first time.[15] There is evidence which seems to confirm this. A royal diploma of 772[16] and the best text of the Aulla foundation-charter of 884[17] speak of a *fines Surianense* embracing a considerable area of the western Apennines. The charter of 884 provides also one of a number of references in early medieval texts to a *fines Carfaniense*, embracing the upper valley of the Serchio and commonly contrasted with the *fines* of Luni to the diocese of which it none the less belonged.[18] Schneider showed convincingly (if with some over-statement of his case) that *fines* of this kind normally originated as the territory of a Byzantine 'castle.'[19] The κάστρον Σωρεῶν of George of Cyprus (n. 550) has been claimed as an early and specific reference to the 'castle' of *Surianum*, but the latest editor rejects the identification and it would certainly be unwise to insist on it.[20]

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[1] L. A. Muratori, *Delle Antichità Estensi*, Modena, 1717, i, p. 90.

[2] U. Mazzini, 'Un'epigrafe lunigianese del secolo VIII,' *Giornale storico della Lunigiana*, ii, 1910, p. 153; *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Poetae*, iv (2), p. 1006 (Strecker).

[3] It is unfortunately not discussed by N. Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions in Italy,' *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xvi, 1948, p. 38 ff.

[4] *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano: Toscana*, Milan, 1935, p. 170.

[5] For which new evidence is given by F. Halkin in *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxix, 1951, p. 68 ff., 72.

[6] 1029: doc. cited in n. 1; 1276: doc. cited below, n. 29.

[7] Recorded by that name in Anonymous Ravennas, *Cosmographia*, iv, 29 (ed. J. Schnetz, Leipzig, 1940) with the qualifying words *que dicitur Lunensis et Vigintimilii et ceterarum civitatum.* Luni had formerly been the most northerly civitas of *Tuscia*, the boundary of which was evidently the Magra.

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[8] *Vita Hadriani*, c. 41, in *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, i, 498.

[9] A theory first fully set out by E. Caspar, *Pippin u. die Romische Kirche*, Berlin, 1914, p. 132 ff., developing ideas of F. Schneider, *Die Reichsverwaltung in Toscanen*, Rome (Preuss. Hist. Inst.), 1914, p. 55 ff. The supposed treaty must certainly have put forward the later *confinium* as a road-corridor between the two halves of Byzantine North Italy and not as a 'frontier,' but it is difficult to believe that all the places named figured on a pre-existing 'road-map.' For the reference to Corsica see the comments of Caspar, p. 137, n. 1: *ins*[*ula*] *Corsica* is included in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

[10] L. Banti, *Luni*, Florence, 1937.

[11] *Id est in Verceto* an obvious gloss : Caspar, p. 133.

[12] See the *Vita S. Moderanni*, ed. F. B. Plaine in *Stud. u. Mitt. aus dem Benedictiner- u. dem Cisterciensorden*, viii, 1887, p. 193 ff., although it was not composed before the late ninth century; compare Schutte (below, n. 15) and Kehr in *Italia Pontificia*, v, 434.

[13] *Reichsverwaltung*, p. 55 ff.

[14] For the Germanic root of this and similar place-names (a high proportion of them in border-regions) see E. Gamillscheg, *Romania Germanica*, Berlin, 1934 ff., i, 174; ii, 87.

[15] The main Roman crossing was further west. Signorina Banti has plausibly suggested that the Cisa began to take its place when the capital of the W. Empire was moved to Ravenna: *Atene e Roma*, n.s., xiii, 1932, p. 107. For its later history see L. Schutte, *Der Appenninenpass des Monte Bardone u. die deutschen Kaiser*, Berlin, 1901.

[16] C. Troya, *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, Naples, 1852 ff., iv (5), p. 713, with the erroneous reading *Sobianense* (cf. the manuscript in Brescia, Bibl. Quiriniana).

[17] See the extracts printed in Cosimo della Rena, *Della serie degli antichi duchi e marchesi di Toscana*, i, Florence, 1690, p. 119, from a copy independent of and superior to that used by Muratori, *Ant. Est.*, i, p. 210 ff.

[18] For the details see Schneider, *Reichsverwaltung*, p. 48 ff., where its connection with the *castellum de Carfaniana*, first recorded in 798, is established. The *castellum* is now Piazza al Serchio, the *plebs* [*S. Petri*] *de Castello* of, for example, the Luni diocesan *estimo* of 1470–1471, published by G. Sforza, *Giorn. stor. e lett. della Liguria*, v, 1904, pp. 235, 240.

[19] F. Schneider, *Die Entstehung von Burg u. Landgemeinde in Italien*, Berlin-Grunewald, 1924, ch. i.

The traditional identification of *Surianum* with Sarzana was possible only on the assumption that the received reading was corrupt; and the alternative identification with Sorgano, first proposed by Paul Kehr, has been widely accepted.[21] Since Sorgano is *east* of Luni and no great distance inland this identification is not very convincing. It is not strengthened by the now widely-held theory that the main Roman road *Luni*—(Borgotaro)—*Placentia* ran this way to the upper reaches of the Aulella (whence it descended to the Magra).[22] Even if field-work, which is badly needed in this area, confirms the existence of such a road, account will still have to be taken of the fact that on the one hand the Ravenna Geographer records a road (? Byzantine or earlier) running northwards through the hills above Luni and then turning westwards to pass Terrarossa in the lower Val di Magra;[23] and that on the other hand when Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury returned from Rome at the end of the tenth century he followed a road from Luni to Pontremoli and the Cisa pass (by this time fully established as the principal crossing of the western Apennines) that went by S. Stefano di Magra.[24] There remains an identification of *Surianum* that removes all difficulties, although it does not unfortunately help us to decide which of the alternative routes between Luni and the mouth of the Aulella was normally used in the Byzantine period.[25]

Among the parishes named in a papal bull of 1154 in favour of the bishop of Luni is the *plebs de Surano*;[26] and it may be taken as certain that the same name originally figured in another bull of six years previously, although only the letters *ano* are preserved in our single manuscript source.[27] As *plebs de Surrano* it figures again in 1203.[28] In the record of the Crusading *colletta* of 1276, on the other hand, the *plebs de Surano* is not mentioned but the *plebs de Flecteria* takes its place;[29] and the *plebs de Filateria* appears in other later medieval diocesan records in which Surano does not figure.[30] About a kilometre to the north of the hill of Filattiera is the substantial eleventh- or twelfth-century church of S. Stefano, standing within a cemetery and known locally as the 'pieve vecchia.' There can be little doubt that this represents the lost *plebs de Surano* which was superseded in the first half of the thirteenth century, as a sixteenth-century local antiquary already recognised, by the better-protected *plebs de Filateria*.[31] The further identification of this *Surano* with the *Surianum* of the Donation has everything to commend it[32] and the simultaneous use of the alternative name Φυλακτήριον or the like for the actual castle-site need not be regarded as a serious objection.

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[20] Compare Schneider, *Entstehung*, p. 58, n. 1 with Honigmann, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès* (= *Forma Imperii Byzantinii*, i, Brussels, 1939), p. 51.

[21] *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1895, p. 700, n. 1.

[22] See for example the map in Banti, *Luni*, p. 86 and the text, p. 92 f.

[23] Rav. iv. 32, v. 2, ed. Schnetz, pp. 70, 86, as interpreted by O. Cuntz in *Ost. Jahresheft*, vii, 1904, p. 46 ff.

[24] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, London (Rolls Series), 1874, p. 391 ff.

[25] First made by U. Mazzini when he republished and discussed the Filattiera inscription as 'L'epitaffio di Leodegar vescovo di Luni del sec. VIII' [*sic*], *Giorn. stor. Lun.*, x, 1919, p. 81 ff. Before seeing this article (at a late stage in the present study) I had reached a similar conclusion independently from a part of the evidence quoted in the text.

[26] *Il Regesto del cod. Pelavicino*, ed. M. Lupo Gentile in *Atti del Soc. Ligure di St. Pat.*, xliv, 1912, p. 4 ff., no. 2; Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, vi (2), p. 379, no. 26.

[27] *Reg. Pel.*, p. 1 ff., no. 1; Kehr, *op. cit.*, p. 378, no. 21. The reading *Tarano* has no manuscript authority and is taken over from Ughelli.

[28] *Reg. Pel.*, p. 6, ff., n. 3. Cf. *ib.*, p. 248, n. 2: *archipresbiter de Surano.*

[29] Ed. Mazzini in *G. S. Lun.*, vii, 1916, p. 205.

[30] As in the *estimo* of 1470–1471, ed. Sforza, p. 253.

[31] Gio. Rolando Villani, cit. Mazzini (above, n. 29).

The chapel of S. Giorgio (Pl. V) stands on the south crest of the hill, a few feet higher than the site of the village to the north and accessible only from the north-west since to east, south and south-west the hill here descends very sharply into the valley. Its style of construction in roughly-dressed blocks of limestone, carefully laid in regular courses, has close parallels of both twelfth-century and late Antique date,[33] but the mortar, which is extremely strong and not, like the normal mortar of medieval date, easily friable, points to the earlier period. It is difficult, if not impossible, to suppose with Professor Bognetti that the chapel was built by the man commemorated in the inscription and whom he supposes to have been a Catholic missionary working among Lombards who were still Arians![34] Some 10 feet to the west of the chapel is a tower which now stands to the height of *c.* 54 feet and is approximately 13 feet square at ground level.

At first sight this tower has nothing to distinguish it from innumerable other towers that were erected by feudatories warring among themselves or with neighbouring communes in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The construction of the upper part is like that of the majority of these, of undressed stone and rubble in irregular courses and with poorly-laid angles. What distinguishes it from all medieval towers known to me is the construction-technique of the first 20 feet or so (Pls. V, *c*, *d*). The first 4 feet 6 inches consist of a concrete base of solid but crude composition on which the tower proper is set back about 5½ inches: there is evidence on the south side that the angle between base and tower was formerly protected by masonry chips mortared together. The 15 or 16 feet above the base have an external facing of roughly-dressed limestone, laid in regular courses; a solid concrete core; and (apparently, since the interior of the tower is not accessible) an internal facing of masonry similar to that of the exterior, the total thickness of the south wall at the level of the original window-sill being about 3 feet. The substantial angle-blocks, regularly laid out, are normally 7½ to 8½ inches deep, although a few are nearly 11 inches. The wall-courses are in part half the depth of these blocks, in part the full depth, but by no means haphazardly. Thus on the south wall four 'half-depth' courses of masonry of varying proportions are followed by a 'full-depth' course consisting entirely of regularly-squared blocks; a further four 'half-depth' courses are followed by another 'full-depth' course, likewise of squared blocks; two 'half-depth' courses by a 'full-depth' one; then eight 'half-depth' by one or more 'full depth' courses (at the level of the sill) which have, however, been wholly or partly reconstructed. The arrangement of the courses on the east wall is not exactly identical, but there is the same regular alternation of masonry of differing proportions, with 'full-depth' courses at the third, sixth, ninth, twelfth (corresponding to the thirteenth of the south wall) and sixteenth. In the

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[32] For the loss of the medial *-i-* compare the development of Filattiera, *Filaterra* in the later Middle Ages and with a modern dialect form *Faltéra* (cited and discussed by M. Giuliani, *Archivio storico per le provincie parmense*, n.s., xxx, 1930, p. 72 ff.).

[33] For supposedly fifth-sixth century buildings of a similar style of construction in the Gulf of La Spezia see [Formentini], *Storia di Genova*, Milan (for the *Istituto per la storia di Genova*), ii, 1941, pl. fac. p. 114.

[34] A De Capitani d'Arzago, G. P. Bognetti and G. Chierici, *Santa Maria di Castelseprio*, Milan (Fondazione Treccani), 1948, pp. 302, 304.

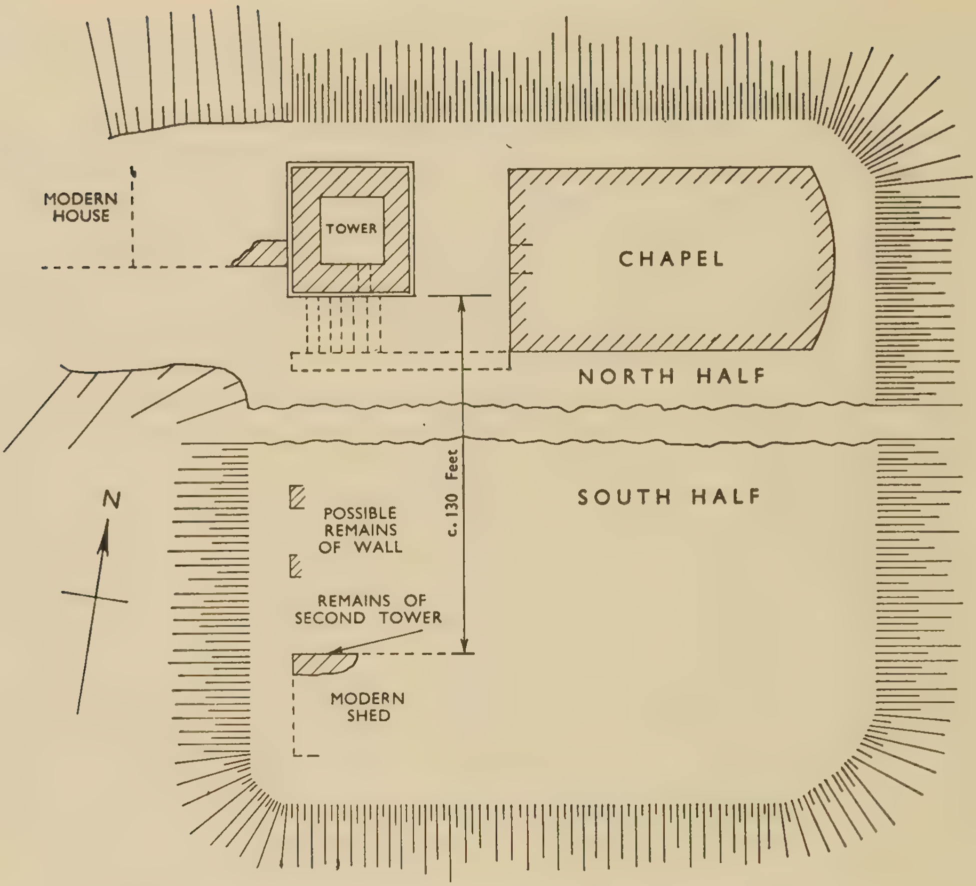

Fig. 1—Sketch-Plan of Castle site and Byzantine (?) remains at Filattiera.
(Scale 0·9 ins. = 20 ft. approx.)

absence of strictly comparable examples, it would be rash to claim this as unquestionably 'Byzantine' work of the sixth or seventh centuries. One can say only that a medieval origin seems very improbable; and it may be more than a coincidence that the regular alternation of courses of different depth is found also in fortifications built in the late-Antique period on the North African frontiers of the Empire.[35] The strongly-mortared, regularly-squared masonry used at Filattiera—but not, so far as can be judged from the only available photograph, the alternation of courses of different depth—is found also in the first 20 feet of one of the towers of the Malaspina castle at Torriglia (in the Ligurian Alps above Genoa) and has been described as *romana* ?, but if the brief published account of this castle is correct in speaking of a *brick* lining to the mortar core, a Byzantine origin is here almost beyond question.[36] The use of slightly different constructional techniques at the two places is certainly compatible with their having formed part of the same system of frontier-defence.[37]

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[35] A Tripolitanian example probably of much earlier date is illustrated in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xl, 1950, pl. IV, 3.

[36] G. Monaco, *Forma Italiae—Libarna*, Rome, 1936, c. 114 and pl. 27, fig. 27.

It is possible that careful excavation in the vicinity of the Filattiera tower would provide evidence for a more precise dating; it should certainly add considerably to our knowledge of the castle as a whole. Already it is clear that the tower was only one part of a more complex structure. The lower part of the wall immediately to the west of it is structurally bonded with the tower base; its upper part, however, has been completely rebuilt; and although old masonry is incorporated in a more recent building where the original entrance may have been, there is no proof that it is *in situ*. Unequivocal evidence for the orginal extent of the castle is the surviving fragment of a second tower, built into a modern shed on the southern edge of the south crest, not less than 130 feet from the first tower and the chapel and clearly identifiable from the alternation of 'half-depth' and 'full-depth' courses. At two points along the west edge, between the two towers, there are doubtfully identifiable remains of ancient walling incorporated in a modern wall.

The castle of Filattiera was clearly of considerable size and strength and quite distinct from the sixth or seventh century *castra* of the Drau valley and elsewhere which were places of refuge for entire cities (*Fliehburgen*). The analogy of a number of 'tower' names in the mountain border-regions of the *provincia Maritima*—*Turris*, the original name of Borgotaro, first recorded in 834–836[38]; the *Turris* recorded by the Ravenna Geographer (and therefore of Byzantine or earlier origin), possibly the same place;[39] perhaps Torriglia, *Turicla* in 972;[40] a lost (?) *Turris* further west which gave its name to the *fines Torrensi*(*s*)[41] (with which the *comitatus Toresianus*, recorded in an imperial diploma of 869 and again in 890 is probably identifiable)[42] —and possible archaeological evidence for such towers on other frontiers of the Empire at one time inclined me to interpret the name of Filattiera as 'watch-tower'[43] It is now clear that this is hardly appropriate, and if the Byzantine origin of both name and castle are accepted, the original meaning was perhaps rather 'garrison,' the sense in which the word *φυλακτήριον* was always used by Procopius.[44]

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[37] Another slight variant would be the fortifications 'di pietre riquadrate senza molta cura di regolarità' over a concrete 'core' (? unlined) at Campomarzio (Valle d'Argentina, prov. Imperia), *castelo de Campomarzio* in 972 and with a medieval chapel dedicated to St. George, plausibly identified as Byzantine by Prof. N. Lamboglia, *Topografia storica dell'Ingaunia nell'Antichità* = *Collana storico-archaelogica della Liguria Occidentale*, ii (4), 1933, p. 126, cf. pp. 84, n. 1, 111.

[38] *Codice Diplomatico di Bobbio*, ed. C. Cipolla, Rome, 1918, i, p. 140.

[39] Ravennas, iv. 32, identified with Borgotaro by Cuntz, *art. cit.* (n. 23), p. 53.

[40] Monaco, *Libarna*, c. 112, n. 5.

[41] First recorded in 880 in connection with a royal *iudex* whose recorded activity is connected particularly with the territory of Asti: *Le più antiche carte dell'Archivio Capitolare di Asti*, ed. F. Gabotto (*Bib. Soc. Stor. Subalp.*, xxviii, no. 14; *I placiti del 'Regnum Italiae,'* ed. C. Manaresi, i, Rome, 1955, no. 88.

[42] Böhmer-Mühlbacher (2nd ed.), no. 1241; *Codice Diplomatico Parmense*, ed. U. Benassi, Parma, 1910, i (3), no. 12; and subsequently in *ibid.*, no. 37 (890). The names of the other places figuring in the diploma argue that the *comitatus* was somewhere in the western Apennines or Ligurian Alps. U. Formentini, '*Turris*, il comitato torresano e la contea di Lavagna dai Bisantini ai Franchi,' *AS. Parm.*, n.s., xxix, 1929, p. 7 ff., using only the document of 890, argued that it was the territory of *Turris*—Borgotaro; but his arguments are very weak and the theory is difficult to reconcile with the evidence for the course of the Lombard occupation of this area or with the evidence of the Aulla foundation-charter that Albareto di Borgotaro was in the territory of *Surianum.*

[43] Compare my remarks in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xxiii, 1955, p. 158 f. The reference to Filattiera as a supposed analogy is quite erroneous and must be struck out: but there are comparable examples from the eastern frontiers (see, e.g. R. Mouterde, A. Poidebard, *Le limes de Chalcis*, Paris, 1945, esp. i, p. 237 f.).

[44] As *Bell. Goth.*, iii, 18. It would be interesting to know what kinds of fortifications were covered by the specially-devised term, Π*υργοκάστελλον* (see Procopius, *Buildings*, ii, 5, 8).

The surviving fortifications of Byzantine Italy, once they have been securely identified, should prove a valuable addition to the not very considerable body of evidence for the history of the period and throw new light on the fundamental problem of the stages by which the once professional army was progressively 'territorialised' and the former civil administration militarised.[45] The non-archaeological evidence brought into the preceding discussion illustrates some of the weaknesses of current theories. A number of the castle-territories of north and central Italy undoubtedly represent parts of former city-territories through which the Lombard-Byzantine frontier ran in the late sixth century[46]; but it has sometimes been suggested that the creation of others was connected with the laying of the burden of defence on all landowners. Neither theory convincingly accounts for the castle-territories of Seprio (Milan) and Castelnuovo di Garfagnana, adjoining the *fines Carfanienses* on the east, or the mysterious *fines Castellana* in the Piacenza region, all of which must have been in Lombard hands very shortly after 569.[47] In some cases a Lombard origin of the *fines* may be the correct explanation, but it is at least equally possible that the earliest castle-territories belong to the period of the Gothic rather than of the Lombard wars. The reference to a Ligurian *comes et tribunus* (with a Gothic name) already in 568 may be confirmatory evidence for this, in the light of the subsequent evidence for *comites* in command of castles.[48] Moreover, although the *fines* of *Surianum* and of other castles could certainly have originated as late as the early seventh century, their extent makes it unlikely that the castle in question was intended merely to be a point of assembly for the population of the entire area: the *fines Surianenses* extended at least to S. Benedetto di Montelungo, 20 km. to the north, and probably even across the watershed to Albareto di Borgotaro; its eastern boundary with the *fines Carfanienses* was probably not less than 10 or 12 km. away.[49] It is much more likely that castle-territories such as these represent areas of military command in the fullest sense, often embracing a number of fortifications of different types. Formentini indeed claimed many years ago to have identified a series of such fortifications on the crest of the Apennines east of the Cisa, but he published neither plans nor photographs and his brief descriptions include nothing that would suggest a Byzantine date for them.[50]

The extent to which these new *fines* permanently destroyed the ancient unity of many city-territories has never been sufficiently recognised. Pre-Byzantine,

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[45] The best account of which is still that of L. M. Hartmann, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. der Byz. Verwaltung in Italien*, Leipzig, 1889, *passim*, although it needs to be corrected and amplified at many points.

[46] Particularly those of southern *Tuscia* which became the frontier-territories of the later *ducatus Romae* and of Lombard Tuscany (on which see Schneider, *Reichsverwaltung*, pp. 10 ff., 112 ff.).

[47] Cf. Schneider, *Burg u. Landgemeinde*, ch. i, *passim*. In *Reichsverwaltung*, p. 48 f., Schneider had shown himself inclined to accept a Lombard origin of *Carfaniana* and of its associated *fines* and by implication, therefore, of *Castronovo* and its *fines*.

[48] *Coniunx Tzittani com. et trib.* at Albenga (Liguria), *CIL*, v, 7793, *ILS*, no. 8258; the *tribunus* normally commanded a *numerus*. For counts of castles, cf. *Reg. Greg. I.*, ix, 71 of 598 and Hartmann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 58, 155. Compare also the *comes Langobardorum de Lagare* of Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.*, iii, 9, perhaps imitating Byzantine or earlier precedents: *Lagare* (from which the modern Valle Lagarina), *Ligeris* in Rav. iv, 30, is perhaps Gothic (see Gamillscheg, ii, 70) for 'camp.'

[49] For the inclusion of S. Benedetto see the diploma of 772, the identification being established by a diploma of 851 for the same recipient (S. Giulia, Brescia), Böhmer-Muhlbacher, 1147. For Albareto see the Aulla charter of 884.

[50] U. Formentini, 'Scavi e ricerche sul limes bisantino nell'Appennino lunese-parmense,' *AS. Parm.*, n.s., xxx, 1930, p. 39 ff.

Byzantine or post-Byzantine, they retained a considerable degree of autonomy throughout the Lombard and Carolingian periods, which is characterised by the use of the term *gastaldatus* for the territory of the castle of Pietra Bismantova in a later ninth-century diploma.[51] When they were again administered as part of a city-territory (Carolingian county) this was not always the one from which it had been detached: Pietra Bismantova was probably not anciently in the territory of Parma, as it was later, and the territories of *Surianum* and *castellum de Carfaniana* which are said to have been part of Roman *Luca*[52] were, as we have seen, in the medieval diocese of Luni.[53] Even from the evidence used to illustrate the subject of this paper, it is apparent that these changes were accompanied by others—proceeding directly or indirectly from the same causes—the ultimate effect of which was to transform the pattern of settlement and communications established in the Val di Magra and adjacent regions in Roman times; and these will be no less certain even if subsequent inquiry dissociates the castle of Filattiera from its apparently Byzantine origin.[54]

ADDITIONAL NOTE. The published description of the remains at Torriglia and the inference made from this in the text are now known to be incorrect, but recent discoveries at Portovenere and elsewhere on the Ligurian coast put the Byzantine date of the masonry of the towers at Filattiera almost beyond question.

D. A. BULLOUGH

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[51] Böhmer-Mühlbacher, no. 1243 (of 870). Pietra Bismantova is *Κάστρον Βισμαντῶ* in George of Cyprus (n. 623; ed. Honigmann, p. 53). It is just possible that a gastald of *Surianum* is the man commemorated in the Filattiera inscription: but there is no real evidence for this.

[52] So Formentini in *Bolletino Storico Piacentino*, xxv, 1930, p. 3 ff.; Banti, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[53] But if the eastern boundary of the *Fines Carfanienses* had once been the Byzantine-Lombard frontier this would make the change even more explicable.

[54] I would like to thank Mr. Martin Fredriksen and Miss Joyce Reynolds for their criticisms and suggestions; and also Mr. Richard Goodchild, former librarian of the British School, who first encouraged me to look for archaeological remains of the Byzantine *limes* in Italy.

GLI *EXCUSATI* NELLE PROVINCIE ITALIANE SOGGETTE ALL'IMPERO D'ORIENTE

Chi, per il primo, s'occupò del problema offerto dagli *excusati* pugliesi e dello ἐξκουσατικίον che su di essi gravava fu, se non erro, il Beltrani nella sua memoria intitolata, *Documenti Longobardi e Greci dell'Italia meridionale.* Fra questi pubblicò una sentenza data nell'anno 1054 da Argiro duca e principe d'Italia, per decidere una lite insorta fra tali Romualdo figlio d'un altro Romualdo, Niso e Rufo figli di Landenolfo, da un lato, e Sasso figlio di Pietro, dall'altro, che i primi pretendevano fosse loro escusato. Il processo ci offre uno svolgimento tutto longobardo: infatti, poiché gli attori non avevano alcun documento che attestasse l'asserita condizione di Sasso, Argiro ordinò a quest'ultimo di prestare insieme a dodici congiuratori, il giuramento purgatorio e quegli lo prestò, attestando di non avere mai dato agli attori lo ἐξκουσατικίον. In seguito a tale giuramento, Argiro emise una sentenza favorevole pienamente al convenuto.[1]

Beltrani, nella prefazione alla sua raccolta documentaria, cercò di spiegare quel che fossero questi *excusati* e il tributo da essi pagato, e ricorse perciò ad un passo del Ducange nel quale gli editori parigini del 1844 di quell'opera mostrano di ritenere che si trattasse di servi fuggitivi rifugiatisi nelle Chiese, a favore dei quali i rettori di queste avevano ottenuto dai loro padroni che fossero perdonati e ripresi in soggezione coll'obbligo di pagare un particolare tributo in compenso d'essere stati 'scusati,' cioè perdonati. Beltrani poneva così gli escusati del giudicato di Argiro nella categoria dei servi, pur ammettendo che ci fosse qualche attenuazione nella loro condizione, ottenuta dai loro ecclesiastici protettori.[2] Questa spiegazione era fondata sulla derivazione del termine *excusatus* dal verbo latino *excusare* che fra i suoi significati ha pure quello di perdonare. E' un pò strano che il Beltrani, perfetto conoscitore dei diplomi greci dell'Italia meridionale, non si fosse soffermato sul documento del 1034 pubblicato dal Trinchera nel suo *Syllabus*[3] nel quale Costantino patrizio e catapano d'Italia concedeva al monastero della Teotoko sul monte Arata la conferma dei privilegi elargiti al monastero stesso dai suoi antecessori. Tali privilegi concedevano, fra l'altro, a tale ente ecclesiastico: πόλλην ἐξκουσείαν, che Trinchera giustamente tradusse *plenam immunitatem.* In questo senso il vocabolo è pure adoperato da Teofilo antecessore (I,22). La possibilità di una tale interpretazione merita di essere considerata.[4]

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[1] Il documento fu pubblicato quasi contemporaneamente anche dal A. di Gioachina Prologo, *Le Carte che si conservano nell'Archivio dellà cittá di Trani*, Barletta, 1877, n. XV, senza variante.

[2] Questa origine degli *excusati* sembra doversi ammettere per quelli che si trovano nella penisola iberica. Un caso particolare ci è offerto dalla *Lex Wisigothorum* IX, 3, 3 dove il servo rifugiatosi in una chiesa per sfuggire all'ingiusta persecuzione del padrone è *excusatus* in vista della legge. Però un'altra specie di *excusati* sembra indicarci il passo del diploma del Re Alfonso VII citato dagli autori della edizione del Ducange del 1844, vol. iii, p. 142. Ivi si parla d'una scelta di *excusati* fatta da un monastero in seguito al privilegio del Sovrano e dalla loro liberazione da servizi e da esazioni regali, nonché dei tributi che, in cambio, essi dovevano all'ente ecclesiastico. Questo modo d'aumentare le rendite di tali enti potè essere applicato anchè altrove. Vorrei però che i dotti Spagnoli ci dessero lumi sull'argomento.

[3] Trinchera, *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum*, Napoli, 1865, n. XXVIII.

Conviene però, prima di avventurarci a formulare un'ipotesi relativa alla vera natura di questi escusati, vedere se essi si vedano menzionati da fonte d'altri paesi oltre che da quelli Pugliesi. Ciò accade in Istria ed a Venezia. La menzione che ne vien fatta nel ben noto placito del Risano, tenuto nei primissimi anni dell'800 dai *missi dominici* di Carlo Magno, è particolarmente interessante per tale confronto, giacché i maggiorenti delle città istriane, convocati in quell'assemblea, si riferiscono, a proposito di tali *excusati* ai tempi, nei quali la penisoletta adriatica era soggetta alla dominazione degli imperatori d'Oriente. Gli Istriani mossero allora, come si sa, molte lagnanze contro il Patriarca di Grado Fortunato e contro il duca franco Giovanni che Carlo Magno aveva posto a governare il paese. Fra queste lagnanze c'era quella di aver tolto ad essi le loro dignità di Tribuni.[5] Essi così si espressero : *Tribunatus nobis abstulit, liberos homines non nos habere permittit, sed tantum cum nostris servis facit nos in hoste ambulare; libertos nostros abstulit, advenas homines ponit in casa nostras vel cetera nostra nec in ipsos potestatem habemus. Graecorum tempore omnis tribunus habebat excusatos quinque et amplius et nobis abstulit.*

Ognuno vede quale importanza abbia questo passo del celebre placito. Ne risulta in primo luogo che questi *excusati* erano uomini liberi addetti al servizio dei tribuni. Dal testo sembra discendere l'indicazione che, fra gli altri loro obblighi, ci fosse quello di accompagnarli in guerra. Gli ottimati Istriani si lagnavano, appunto, d'essere stati costretti dalle violenze del Duca Franco, a farsi accompagnare quando andavano all'esercito, soltanto dai loro servi.

Il diritto d'avere gli *excusati*, dice il documento, vigeva al tempo dei Greci : era dunque una consuetudine vetusta che risaliva al tempo nel quale la provincia apparteneva all'Impero d'Oriente. Si può pertanto accostare a quella invalsa nelle Puglie, che ci viene additata dai documenti di Trani.

La storia degli escusati dei territori della provincia *Venetia et Histria* ebbe un ulteriore svolgimento nelle isole dell'estuario dove più tardi sorse Venezia. Questi escusati veneziani furono oggetto di ricerche da parte del dottissimo storico e diplomatista Vittorio Lazzarini che ne parlò in una sua nota pubblicata nel 1947[6] negli Atti dell'Istituto Veneto. Lazzarini vi ricorda che nella storia di Venezia scritta dal doge Andrea Dandolo nel secolo XIV, si narra che nell'anno 880, bonificata l'isola del Dorsoduro, il doge Orso Particiaco ordinò che fosse abitata e che vi s'insediassero certi uomini deputati al suo servizio detti *excusati*. Erano secondo il racconto del doge Dandolo, pescatori, ed uccellatori, i quali ancora ai suoi tempi, continuavano a portare alla corte dogale un tributo in natura : Lazzarini osservò però che alcuni fra essi, come certi mugnai che avevano degli acquimoli dinanzi a S. Giorgio Maggiore e nel rio Businco, erano: 'obbligati verso il Doge per un servizio estraneo al loro mestiere, alternandosi nella guardia del palazzo Ducale.' Ciò ci richiama agli escusati del placito del Risano. Un documento del 1140 pubblicato dal Corner[6bis] c'informa che, in quel tempo, a capo di tali *excusati* stava un gastaldo, appellativo comune dei funzionari ducali che presiedevano per disposizione del Doge a qualche ufficio.[7] In appendice alla sua breve memoria, Lazzarini pubblicò, togliendolo dal codice Trevisano, un elenco di *excusati*, in parte di Murano, in parte d'altre località dello estuario come Burano, Torcello, Costanziaca, ecc. Seguono lunghi elenchi di nomi sotto la rubrica: *haec sunt nomina excusatorum qui serviunt pallatio.* L'assegnazione dovette essere famigliare ed ereditaria perchè vediamo non poche designazioni coll'aggiunta: *cum fratribus*, oppure *cum filiis.* Gli excusati di S. Nicolò dei mendicoli, che erano pescatori, avevano l'obbligo di portare ogni anno al palazzo ducale 2400 cefali, pesce del quale c'è grande abbondanza nell'alto Adriatico. Si può dedurre da questo documento dei secoli XII–XIII che in quel tempo il termine *excusatus* aveva perduto a Venezia il suo significato originario, quale ci viene attestato dal placito del Risano e indicava soltanto persone obbligate a prestar servizio nel palazzo ducale ed esonerate perciò da altri obblighi.

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[4] *Excusare* nel senso di liberare da un ufficio o da un aggravio è comune nelle fonti romane. Ved. p. e. : *Excusare se a cura adolescentium* nel Dig. IV, 14, 11, 2. Così avviene nel latino del secolo VII : p.e. nella *lex Romana Rhaetico Curiensis*, XIII, 2 : *si forsitan homines potentes voluerint excusare*, dove è reso con *excusare* il termine *relevare* del Teodosiano. In quella legge l'imperatore prevedeva il caso d'impiegati fiscali corrotti che sollevassero uomini potenti da certi aggravi, riversandoli su poveri e stabiliva che costoro dovessero essere protetti.

[5] Di questo celebre documento diedi una edizione nel mio volume : *Storia del diritto italiano : le fonti*, 3ª edizione, Milano, 1947, p. 233. Fu pure edito di recente da R. Cessi, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al mille*, Padova, s.a., doc. no. 40. L'apografo, probabilmente tratto dall'originale perduto, sta nel Codice Trevisaneo, nella Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia, cod. lat. X, 181. La prima edizione è dell'Ughelli-Coleti, *Italia Sacra*, V, 1907.

[6] V. Lazzarini, *Excusati del dogado Veneziano* (Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, lettere ed arti, cv, ottobre 1947), Venezia 1948.

Degli eccessi che avvenivano, come sembra, nell'esercizio dei poteri esercitati dalla corte ducale sugli escusati, si preoccuparono gli autori della promissione del Doge Jacopo Tiepolo, il quale dovette promettere nel 1229 d'impedire che gli escusati fossero aggravati oltre le consuetudini e di conservare loro il privilegio di navigare (purché il Doge e il suo consiglio non lo vietassero) senza pagare la quadrigesima sulle merci portate a terra. Ecco comparire una delle loro immunità. Delle altre, purtroppo, non abbiamo nessuna notizia.

Lazzarini ricordò, a proposito di questi escusati dell'estuario veneto, la disposizione del Re Longobardo Liutprando contenuta nel c. 83 delle sue leggi, che consentiva allo *judex*, cioè al duca, di prendere, per trasportare le sue salmerie sei uomini a cavallo ed oltre a ciò dieci pedoni che lavorassero per lui tre giorni per ciascuna settimana. Concessioni analoghe ma in misura minore erano fatte allo sculdascio ed al saltario. Non si può certo negare che una notevole somiglianza ci sia fra queste disposizioni di Liutprando e quelle che risultano dal placito Istriano. Nell'editto del Re Longobardo non c'è il termine escusato, ma lo troviamo nella *Memoria Olonnae comitibus data* dell'Imperatore Lotario dell'anno 823, ove c'è la disposizione c.13, *liceat comiti scusatos habere, sicut lex Langobardorum continet.*

Nella *constitutio de expeditione Beneventana* emanata da Ludovico II oltre quarantatre anni dopo abbiamo la testimonianza dell'evoluzione giuridica avvenuta, in questi come in altri punti del diritto longobardo sotto l'influenza delle istituzioni franche. In quella costituzione, infatti, l'Imperatore stabiliva che tutti dovessero accorrere alle armi, salvo pochissime eccezioni e prescriveva le punizioni per chi violasse il precetto.[8] Fra tali norme vi è la seguente: *et si comes aliquem excusatum aut vassallum suum, preter quod superius diximus, dimiserit, honorem suum perdat.* L'avvicinamento dell'escusato al vassallo, in questa disposizione, ci mostra come il legame che univa il primo al dignitario al quale era addetto, avesse un carattere eminentemente personale, tale da poter essere posto accanto a quello della *fides* colla quale il vassallo era legato al seniore.

[6bis] F. Cornelius, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, ix (Venezia,1749), p. 376.

[7] R. Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, i, Venezia, 1940, p. 275. Gli abitanti dell'estuario veneto avevano accolto questo titolo dal vicino territorio del Regno d'Italia.

Ritengo che la disposizione del Re Liutprando si deva attribuire ad un'imitazione degli ordinamenti invalsi nelle provincie italiane, soggette ai Bizantini. Naturalmente all'imitazione si puó pensare avendo riguardo al placito istriano ed alla asserzione che vi si trova relativamente al *tempus Graecorum*, non agli escusati Veneziani che si possono considerare come un residuo storico dell'organizzazione del Ducato dei tempi nei quali questo dipendeva dall'Esarca di Ravenna: residuo nel quale si avvertono le alterazioni portate alla sua fisonomia dai secoli.

Ritorniamo intanto, per un istante, agli escusati delle Puglie. Contro l'ipotesi posta, come vedemmo, dal Beltrani che vide negli escusati di Trani dei servi fuggitivi ricondotti dai sacerdoti, presso i quali si erano rifugiati, ai loro padroni, ebbe già a manifestarsi molti anni or sono il Besta.[9] Egli ritenne invece che lo ἐξκουσατικίον che quegli escusati dovevano dare ai loro signori, fosse il corrispettivo di una immunità loro concessa, ed avanzò l'ipotesi che si trattasse della esenzione dal servizio militare. E' singolare che egli, pur tanto esperto nella storia veneziana non facesse alcun richiamo agli escusati del duca Orso Particiaco, nè a quelli ricordati nel placito del Risano.

Il Lizier che scrisse un pregevole libro sulle condizioni delle terre meridionali italiane prima della dominazione Normanna,[10] dopo aver citata l'opinione del Besta, osservò però che vi erano documenti nei quali si vedevano definiti gli escusati come 'subiecti' e quindi espresse il parere che non fossero liberi. Ci sono infatti dei documenti dell'età bizantina nei quali tale soggezione appare chiaramente. Tale è quello edito dal Trinchera (n.X del *Syllabus*), nel quale si vede Gregorio protospatario imperiale e catapano d'Italia, donare, nel 999, ad uno spatario candidato Cristoforo, per premiarlo della strenua difesa dei possessi bizantini contro i Saraceni da lui fatta, un monastero dedicato a S. Pietro: καθῶς ἐστὶν ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου μετὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξκουσάτους αὐτοῦ. Nel documento si vedono, in effetto, degli escusati soggetti ad un monastero, che il catapano assoggetta, insieme al monastero loro patrono, ad un laico, ufficiale bizantino, ciò che avrà di certo peggiorata la loro condizione originaria, sulla quale però il sigillo del catapano non ci dà alcun chiarimento sufficiente a chiarire se questi escusati si debbano collocare fra i liberi o fra i servi.

Piu interessante ci si presenta un altro documento citato dal Lizier: si tratta di un brano della cronaca di S. Vincenzo al Volturno che ci ha conservato un diploma di Carlo Magno a favore dell'importante complesso monastico formato da quel monastero e da altri tre ad esso soggetti.[11] Il documento riportato nella cronaca è un diploma di Carlo Magno dell'anno 787, nel quale questi confermò i beni: celle, corti, possessi che all'ente ecclesiastico: *ex largitate regum vel reginarum, sive ducum vel bonorum hominum sunt date vel delegate,* ed aggiunge: *seu etiam escusatos vel offertos, qui in prefatis monasteriis legitime iam subiecti sunt, vel qui devote offerre se cum suis rebus voluerunt.* Abbiamo riportato completamente questo passo per più motivi. Si avverte che esso riguarda un monastero fondato, secondo la leggenda, da tre pii Longobardi e di tale schiatta erano i Re, le Regine e i Duchi ricordati da Carlo Magno che avevano benificato gli enti monastici in questione. Gli scusati dei quali parla il diploma di Carlo Magno sono posti qui nella stessa categoria degli *offerti,* che si erano assoggettati *legitime* al monastero, e degli altri che avevano offerto devotamente a questo non solo le loro persone, ma anche i loro beni: ma tutti costoro se entravano nella giurisdizione del monastero non perdevano la condizione di uomini liberi, nel senso che si dava in quei tempi alla libertà.

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[8] Questi passi erano già stati citati da Pertile, *Storia del Diritto Italiano*^{2}, i, p. 202, n. 58. I passi sono in *M.G.H., Capitularia, ed. Boretius-Krause*, i, 319; ii, 94.

[9] E. Besta, 'Il diritto consuetudinario di Bari e la sua genesi,' *Rivista It. per le scienze giuridiche*, xxxvi, 1903, p. 42.

[10] A. Lizier, *L'economia rurale dell'età prenormanna nell'Italia meridionale*, Palermo, 1907, p. 65 n. 2 e 66 n. 1. 18a. citò il documento del 999 del quale si parla nel testo, ma sbagliò la citazione, dato che il passo da lui riportato non si trova nel documento.

Il diploma di Carlo Magno ci interessa poi da un altro verso. Ci troviamo qui di fronte ad *excusati* soggetti ad un ente ecclesiastico longobardo e sorge il problema del loro possibile rapporto cogli escusati che trovammo nell'estuario veneto, nell'Istria e nella Puglia o con quelli che sappiamo essere stati posti accanto ai capi militari longobardi dalla legge di Liutprando. Essi ci sembrano molto più vicini a quelli che più tardi vediamo ricordati nei documenti greci pubblicati dal Trinchera e dal Beltrani ed anche a quelli che prestavano servizio alla corte del Doge di Venezia che non a quelli che ci ricorda il placito del Risano e la legge Longobarda. Evidentemente già ai tempi di Carlo Magno c'era stata nel ducato di Benevento un'evoluzione degli *excusati* che aveva tolto loro il carattere originario; ciò che non era avvenuto nell'Istria e non risulta neppure dalla legge Longobarda, ciò che depone a favore d'un origine bizantina dell'istituto.

La corte Beneventana, come si sa, subì molto spesso gli influssi del mondo bizantino e non è da far meraviglia se l'imitasse anche in questo.

Cerchiamo ora di trarre da ciò che si è detto qualche elemento utile per tracciare una storia di questi escusati. Mi sembra che si debba partire dal placito del Risano, dove si trova l'esplicita dichiarazione che i tribuni delle piccole città istriane avevano, *tempore Graecorum,* il diritto d'avere cinque uomini liberi per ciascuno, che li accompagnassero in guerra: uomini che il documento designa con l'epiteto di *excusati.* Ho già detto che questa dovette essere una consuetudine delle provincie bizantine. Se ne può trovare un indizio sin dai tempi di Giustiniano. Questi, infatti, nel suo VIII editto nel quale regolò la posizione, le attribuzioni ed i privilegi del vicario della Diocesi del Ponto, stabilì che questo funzionario avesse una propria guardia che contava settanta *homines vicariani.* Naturalmente, altra cosa era questo vicario, personaggio d'altissimo grado, ed altro un piccolo tribuno provinciale: la differenza che c'è nel numero degli addetti è ben comprensibile.

D'altra parte, di esenzioni d'aggravi a favore di persone che rivestivano cariche pubbliche, ci parla già il Codice Teodosiano e parecchie norme passarono da questo nel Giustinianeo.[12] Si potrà osservare che qui si trattava d'alti funzionari, ma si sa come facilmente questi privilegi si estendessero un po' alla volta ai minori; nel caso nostro, poi, si tratta di provincie lontane dal centro dell'Impero dove le necessità locali e la facilità maggiore d'abusi, poterono creare anche consuetudini non ammesse nei territori più vicini alla capitale.

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[11] Il diploma di Carlo Magno è conservato dal *Cronicon Volturnense.* Lizier lo conobbe soltanto dalla edizione del Muratori. Esso oltre che nella nuova edizione di Federici, si trova nei *M.G.H. Dipl. Karoliniorum,* i, n. 157.

Il placito del Risano ci mostra gli escusati istriani, come una scorta dei tribuni: è ragionevole supporre che fossero in una condizione di privilegio, però dovettero essere soggetti al loro capo e poichè erano favoriti da esenzioni di certi aggravi, si comprende come si dovessero sottoporre a prestazioni fra le quali ci potè essere anche un tributo in denaro. Delle prestazioni abbiamo un ricordo nei documenti, relativi agli escusati veneziani; il tributo è ricordato dal documento greco del 1054 dove si parla dello ἐξκουσατικίον.[13]

Nelle origini, il legame fra l'escusato e la persona alla quale era addetto, dovette essere di necessità personale, ma col tempo divenne non solo ereditario ma assunse il carattere di un obbligo familiare, come lo dimostrano i documenti veneziani pubblicati dal Lazzarini, ove vediamo fratelli e figliuoli associati nell'obbligo del servizio al palazzo dogale. Non si può negare, di certo, che fra la fisionomia degli escusati dei tribuni istriani quale ci appare dal placito del Risano e quella dei loro omonimi veneziani ci siano differenze di non poco conto. Mentre i primi son pochi uomini addetti ai vari tribuni, questi ultimi sono numerosissimi e se ai primi si può attribuire un carattere elevato, questi invece ci appaiano persone di bassa condizione. Non si deve dimenticare però, l'abbiamo già accennato, che fra il placito Istriano e gli elenchi del codice Trevisano, corre una distanza d'almeno due secoli: d'altra parte abbiamo notato come alcuni escusati veneziani avessero, benchè di lor professione mugnai, l'obbligo di custodire il palazzo del Doge. Questi mi sembrano rappresentare gli antichi compiti degli escusati. Essi poi si moltiplicarono ed ebbero funzioni sempre più umili.

Che poi troviamo escusati sottoposti a monasteri od anche donati con la concessione di costoro a personaggi favoriti da sovrani o da loro grandi ufficiali, non c'è da farne meraviglia dato l'andazzo dei tempi, e ne consegue che notai tenessero partito da una tale degenerazione per porre insieme *excusati*, *defisi*, *advenae* etc.

E' la stessa sorte che ebbero gli arimanni nei territori Longobardi settentrionali. Essi ci appaiono negli editti dei Re come liberi per eccellenza, ma nell'epoca Franca si formò l'abuso di assoggettare tali arimanni ai signori feudali per comodo di questi. Contro tale abuso reagí l'Imperatore Lamberto nel suo capitolare Ravennate dell'anno 898 vietando: *ut nullus comitum armannos in beneficio suis hominibus tribuat.* Lamberto morì poco dopo ed il suo divieto cadde nel nulla. Nei secoli seguenti vediamo notai classificare gli arimanni, se non fra i servi di masnada, però accanto ai manenti ed ai servi della gleba.

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[12] Si vedano così le esenzioni dalla *senatoria functio* accordata dal Codice Teodosiano VI, 2, 18 e 24, 6–11 ai *domestici* e *protectores* della corte imperiale e così quelle per i *metati* nello stesso codice. Quanto ai derivati da un verbo ἐξκονσατευεῖν, essi erano entrati nel linguaggio greco dei testi bizantini giuridici; si vedano ad esempio, i *Basilici* 1, VII, 5, 9.

[13] Non si può escludere che per gli *excusati* del documento greco del 1054 il tributo al monastero fosse un favore fatto a questo dall'autorità imperiale che permetteva agli escusati di entrare nella immunità ecclesiastica, purchè pagassero tale tributo all'ente immunitario. Non mi soffermo sull'*excusaticum* che si trova ricordato nell'indice dei patti fra il principe Sicardo e il duca di Napoli; perchè è accolta generalmente l'opinione che vi si deve leggere *escaticum*. Vedi G. I. Cassandro, 'La Liburia e i suoi "tertiatores," ' *Arch. Stor. Nap.*, lxv, 1940, p. 262.

Il diploma di Carlo Magno per il monastero di S. Vincenzo al Volturno ci mostra che nel Ducato di Benevento, dove gli escusati erano stati introdotti per imitazione delle prossime terre bizantine, una tale degenerazione s'era formata già nel secolo VIII.

Nei tempi Normanni e Svevi, per quanto potei indagare, scompare nei documenti dell'Italia meridionale il ricordo degli escusati: essi si dovettero confondere con gli altri dipendenti dei signori feudali o degli enti religiosi. Sparì così una categoria di obbligati che ricordava tanto nei paesi del basso Adriatico, quanto in quelli dell'estuario Veneto e dell'Istria l'antica comune dominazione bizantina dalla quale traevano origine.

†P. S. Leicht

LA DIFESA MILITARE DELLA CAPITANATA ED I CONFINI DELLA REGIONE AL PRINCIPIO DEL SECOLO XI

Non è per nulla facile districare un problema di confini nell'Alto Medio Evo, quando i documenti o mancano o sono bellamente contraddittori.

Per ora il problema che mi propongo di delucidare è questo: dove correva il confine fra le terre bizantine di Puglia quelle del principato di Benevento e del marchesato di Spoleto? Quel poco che ci vien fatto di cavar fuori da documenti e cronache ha un merito veramente singolare: quello di lasciarci nella più assoluta incertezza.

Partiamo da uno dei pochi dati sicuri: la divisione fra Benevento e Salerno (849?).[1] All'antico principato, per ciò che concerne la nostra regione, sono attribuiti i gastaldati di *Lèsina* (sull'omonima laguna, all'angolo Nord-Ovest del Gargano), *Termoli* (alla foce del Trigno), *Larino* (fra Biferno e Fortore), *Volturara* (nell'alto Fortore, fra i monti del Sannio e della Daunia), *Ariano Irpino* (sull'acrocoro che domina le sorgenti del Cervaro), *Lucera, Siponto, Ascoli Satriano.* Il confine, in quest'anno, o correva addirittura lungo l'Ofanto o per lo meno, appoggiandosi all'ansa che tale fiume fa verso Nord, fra i monti Cervaro e La Guardiola (toponimo squisitamente longobardo!), e girando tra l'Ofanto e Ascoli Satriano, puntava al mare passando per Cerignola e Trinitàpoli. Siamo, però, in un momento di estrema incertezza politica: la fondazione dell'emirato saraceno di Bari, coi continui spostamenti di confini—se di confini si può parlare—non ci permette certo di chiarire questo punto, tanto più che nella stessa divisione si tennero presenti le condizioni del principato beneventano anteriori all'842, attribuendo ad esempio, il gastaldato di Taranto al principato di Salerno, e quello di Bari (con Brindisi) al principato di Benevento, mentre tali città erano in mano ai Saraceni. Certo è che almeno il basso Ofanto formava confine tra le terre saracene e le beneventane, poichè Canosa fu una delle prime fortezze occupate da Lodovico II nella sua spedizione dell'8866–867.[2]

Che cosa sia avvenuto poi, fra l'871 ed il 900 non è possibile dire, ed anche uno studioso minuzioso come il Gay[3] ha dovuto arrendersi di fronte all'ostinato silenzio delle fonti: si può soltanto congetturare che o durante la campagna di Niceforo Foca o, forse meglio, durante il breve dominio dei bizantini su Benevento (891–892) ai diretti domini pugliesi siano stati aggiunti i gastaldati beneventani di Ascoli Satriano e di Lucera, aggregando, cioè, al thema di Longobardia la zona collinosa fra Ascoli Satriano, Orta Nova e Cerignola (fra l'Ofanto e il Cervaro) e tutto l'agro Foggiano, facendo retrocedere il confine beneventano ai Monti della Daunia.

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[1] Vedi il documento in *M.G.H.*, *Leges*, iv, 22. Cf. G. Romano e A. Solmi, *Le dominazioni barbariche* (in *Storia politica d'Italia*, ed. Vallardi, Milano, 1938), p. 586.

[2] Fu assaltata di nuovo, ma forse non stabilmente rioccupata, dai Musulmani nell'872.

[3] J. Gay, *L'Italie meridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands* (Paris, 1904), p. 136.

Due documenti del Codice Cavense accertano che Lucera era, nel 910–911, terra sottoposta al basiléus bizantino[4] e nel 921 lo stratego Ursileone cadeva sotto le mura di Ascoli Satriano, insorta contro il governo bizantino;[5] le notizie sulla occupazione dell'Apulia durante il periodo 922–925 fanno menzione anche di Siponto, terra passata ai Bizantini nel giugno 891.[6]

Ma in questa spinta verso il Nord, e dato per sicuro il passaggio di Siponto al dominio bizantino, ci si pone l'interrogativo se la linea del confine settentrionale fu portata fino al Fortore, includendo, quindi, nei territori bizantini anche San Severo e Lèsina e, conseguentemente, tutto il Gargano.

I documenti di Lèsina non sono molto espliciti: secondo quanto afferma il Gay,[7] i documenti del cartolario delle Tremiti—ma contenente documenti dal secolo XI in poi—per Lèsina, Ripalta e Civitate danno regolarmente, nella datazione, gli anni degli imperatori di Costantinopoli, e per Lèsina ricordano un 'imperialis crites' e un 'turmarca': il che ci può assicurare che questa terra faceva parte dei possessi bizantini. Ma questo territorio dovette passare ai bizantini soltanto dopo la sconfitta di Melo nel 1019. Infatti, se Lèsina avesse seguito la sorte di Siponto alla fine del secolo IX, non sarebbe facile spiegare un documento del 980, contenuto nel Chronicon Vulturnense:[8] in quell'anno si svolge a Benevento, davanti al Vescovo, una lite fra l'abate di S. Vincenzo al Volturno ed un certo Falco 'filius Dardani episcopi, qui et Johannes vocatur' per il possesso della chiesa di S. Giovanni 'in finibus eiusdem civitatis Lisine, ubi dicitur Caldole . . . et cum castellis et casis et curtis suis . . . et cum ipsum castellum qui est supra ipsum montem supradicte ecclesie.' La discussione davanti al vescovo beneventano potrebbe anche spiegarsi col fatto che il vescovo era il giusdicente religioso della zona, ma come spiegare, se non con un'appartenenza territoriale di Lèsina al principato beneventano, il ricordo di un precedente giudizio, svoltosi qualche tempo prima a Benevento, alla presenza di Paldolfo Capodiferro? Allora è convenuto lo stesso Falco e suo fratello Paone (che son detti figli di Giovanni 'episcopi'; ma vescovo di dove?), i quali accampando la possibilità di produrre documenti, avevano ottenuto il permesso 'ut redirent in civitate Lisine et inquirerent et si invenire poterent ipse scripciones' si ripresentassero al placito del principe. È troppo evidente che le parti si dovevano rivolgere al loro giusdicente naturale non a un giusdicente straniero, la cui sentenza avrebbe potuto avere una applicabilità molto relativa, per non dire che, pur fondando una pretesa, non avrebbe avuto che il significato di una platonica affermazione: ed in materia di diritti privati, ciò sarebbe riuscito addirittura un non senso.

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[4] *Cod. Dipl. Cav.*, i, n. 126 (910, gennaio: III anno di impero di Costantino); n. 127 (911, gennaio, IV anno di Costantino).

[5] Per più ampi ragguagli, cfr. Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 203, e la mia *Età feudale* (in *Storia politica d'Italia*, ed. Vallardi, Milano, 1953), ii, 256–258); la fonte è Lupo Protospatario, *Annales*, ad. a. (*M.G.H.*, *SS.*, v).

[6] Siponto, infatti, fu occupata da Atenolfo II di Capua nel 921: sul supposto attacco del 936 ho sollevato dei dubbi in *Età feudale*, i, 291, n. 47. Tuttavia, anche se si volesse accettare per buona la notizia del manoscritto Vaticano degli *Annali Beneventani*, sarebbe anche questa una conferma dell'appartenenza di Siponto al dominio bizantino dopo la rivolta pugliese seguita alla nomina imperiale di Romano Lecapeno ed al tentativo di Atenolfo II di mettere le mani su tutta la terra pugliese, non solo quella già longobarda, come il Foggiano, la terra di Bari e le Murge, ma anche su quella che non era mai stata nell'orbita beneventana, come la penisola Salentina. Per questa spiegazione si veda Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 204–206 e la mia *Età feudale*, p. 257–258.

[7] Gay, 'Le monastère de Tremiti au XI siècle,' *Mélanges d'arch, et d'hist.*, xvii, 1897, p. 387 segg.

[8] *Chronicon Vulturnense* (ed. V. Federici, Roma, 1925), n. 132.

In questa luce di una dipendenza di Lèsina da Benevento, si possono quindi interpretare anche altri due documenti del Chronicon Vulturnense, l'uno del 965, l'altro del 971, che riguardano due locazioni della stessa chiesa di S. Giovanni in Caldole di Lèsina, stipulati rispettivamente a Capua e a Benevento, e che per se stessi non avrebbero una decisa significazione.[9]

Questa conclusione, del resto, mi pare confortata dal modo di procedere dello stesso Paldolfo nei riguardi dei rapporti fra la chiesa sipontina e la sede di Benevento.

Come è noto la sede episcopale sipontina era stata annessa a quella beneventana, per volontà del duca Romualdo, sulla fine del secolo VII, senza interpellare il metropolita, cioè il papa di Roma, il quale, naturalmente, ignorò questo fatto: solo nel X secolo, quando Siponto da cinquant'anni era bizantina, papa Marino riconobbe a Benevento i diritti sulla chiesa di Siponto oltre che sulle città di Larino, Lèsina ed Ascoli Satriano.[10] È, però, un riconoscimento platonico (poichè mentre Larino e Lèsina sono cittá del principato, Ascoli e Siponto sono ben sicure in mano bizantina), ma che si riallaccia a quelle pretese sull'Apulia che Atenolfo II aveva cercato di concretare con la sua azione del 921–936, frustrata dall'abile politica di Nicola il Mistico.[11] Trent'anni dopo, ristabilita la pace fra Occidente ed Oriente (e quindi anche fra beneventani e bizantini d'Apulia) assistiamo ad un solenne riconoscimento dell'autorità dell'Arcivescovo di Benevento da parte del clero sipontino, con la prestazione di giuramento e guadia, in presenza dell'ufficiale bizantino locale, il turmarca Procopio, e cinque anni dopo Paldolfo Capodiferro e Landolfo IV confermano alla chiesa beneventana il possesso di Siponto e del Santuario di S. Michele al Gargano su intervento di Giovanni arcivescovo di Taranto, Nicolò protospatario e iudex, Teodoro protospatario del crusotriclinio e topotereta, indicati come 'dilectis fidelibus nostris,' ma tutti appartenenti all'ambiente amministrativo bizantino.[12]

Questo diverso atteggiamento nei confronti di Siponto e Lèsina ci può, dunque, condurre alla conclusione che, malgrado la spinta verso nord, alla fine del secolo IX, i bizantini non riuscirono a raggiungere il mare, ma dovettero consentire ai longobardi di Benevento il possesso di un tratto di terra, fra il lago di Lèsina e le colline, di cui non possiamo determinare la profondità, ma che potrebbe essersi spinto fino ad Apricena.

Quale è in questo momento la situazione del Gargano? Se prima ci si muoveva con estrema difficoltà, in questo caso l'impresa appare disperata. Per il X secolo non c'è nessuna notizia che ci metta in grado di porre il piede su un terreno un pò sicuro. Dai documenti del Cartolario delle Tremiti si riesce a sapere che a Peschici c'era una colonia slava, col suo bravo juppan : si tratta di coloni trasportati qui dai bizantini o questi slavi eran già sul posto da qualche tempo ? Si può fare l'ipotesi che essi siano venuti con l'esercito di Niceforo Foca, alla fine del IX secolo, sebbene la colonizzazione bizantina, allora e poi, si sia affermata solo a mezzogiorno dell'Ofanto. Potrebbero essere, questi di Peschici, i discendenti di quegli slavi che nel 926, al comando di un Michele, assalirono e depredarono Siponto.[13] Comunque sia, non si può, però, non mettere in relazione questa improvvisa azione con lo stato di ribellione della Puglia contro i bizantini proprio in quest'anno, e non sarei del tutto alieno dal considerare questo colpo di mano slavo come un'azione combinata coi principi beneventani. In questo caso bisognerebbe pensare che Peschici, anche se godeva di una certa autonomia (e si potrebbe pensare ad una specie di organizzazione arimannica), facesse parte del dominio beneventano. Ma sono ipotesi, e non possiamo costruirci sopra molto.

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[9] *Ibid.*, n. 131 e 128.

[10] Gay, *L'Italie merid.*, p. 197 e p. 355; Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Reg. Rom. Pont.*, n. 3623.

[11] È degna di sottolineatura la menzione di Lèsina, di cui non si fa più parola nelle bolle successive, nè, sopra tutto, in quella di erezione dell'arcivescovado di Benevento del 969 (*J.W.*, n. 3636): lo specifico ricordo nella bolla di papa Marino dev'esser stata una menzione cautelare contro eventuali pretese della chiesa di Lucera, poichè non doveva del tutto esser stato dimenticato che il Vescovo di questa città aveva preso residenza a Lèsina per quasi un secolo fra il 660 ed il 743, evidentemente perchè Lèsina era originariamente nella diocesi lucerina; è un argomento di più per conchiudere che nei primi anni del secolo X (o alla fine del precedente) si era prodotta una frattura nel territorio della Capitanata settentrionale.

[12] I due documenti sono stati editi da Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* (Venetiis, 1721), viii, col. 64 e 66. Undici anni prima, il 13 febbraio 967, Ottone I aveva compiuto lo stesso atto, ma solo su intervento di autorità beneventane, ed evidentemente allo scopo di rafforzare le prestese politiche di Benevento (*Dipl. Ottonis I.*, n. 338 in *M.G.H.*, *Diplomata*, i.)

E neppure possiamo illuderci di trovar qualche punto fermo per ciò che riguarda il Santuario di S. Michele.

Certamente, nell'ecclesiastico, esso rimase legato alla sede Beneventana, e non pare che i bizantini abbiano mai sollevato pretese in proposito. Siccome delle bolle papali e dei diplomi imperiali, regi o principeschi dobbiamo fare un conto molto relativo, gli unici due elementi che ci rimangono a disposizione sono il diploma di Paldolfo del 978 e il racconto dell'incontro di Melo coi Normanni.

Qualche perplessità sussiste per il diploma principesco, dato gli intervenienti che abbiamo visto : ma nei riguardi del Santuario c'è qualcosa di particolare. Il principe, dunque, conferma 'ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis archangeli quae constructa est in Monte Gargano, cum omnibus eius pertinentiis et possessionibus, simulque cum integro ipso castello eiusdem Sancti Angeli, quod quidam Ursus, electus prefatae sedis, in proprio territorio iamdicte ecclesie a novo construxit fundamine.' La conferma in sè e per sè non avrebbe niente di trascendentale, se non fosse il ricordo esplicito di quel castello da poco costruito dal prete Orso : altrove ho notato che le conferme di questo tenore non possono uscire se non dall'autorità che esercita effettivamente la sovranità sul territorio,[14] e per conseguenza sono portato a credere che il Monte Sant'Angelo facesse parte integrante del principato di Benevento. A questa considerazione si può aggiungere ciò che scrive Guglielmo Appulo. Secondo l'autore dei *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* presso il santuario del Gargano avviene il primo incontro tra Melo ed i Normanni (verso la fine del 1011) : il capo della rivolta pugliese si dichiara come

> 'Finibus extorrem Graeca feritate coactum' (v. 20)

dunque scopertamente esule in terra straniera, non clandestino in patria.

Potremmo anche pensare—ma è un po' ostico—a un 'enclave' longobardo in terra bizantina, magari ad una specie di extraterritorialità : ma ciò andrebbe bene, o almeno sarebbe più comprensibile, in un momento di estremo turbamento politico di quasi anarchia, il che non è nel 1011 quando i rapporti tra beneventani e bizantini sono passabili, se non amichevoli. Sarei, dunque, propenso ad ammettere una continuità territoriale beneventana tra Lèsina e Monte Sant'Angelo, e conseguentemente ad ammettere che tutto il Gargano interno fosse sotto il dominio, magari nominale, del principe di Benevento : il confine si potrebbe immaginare che corresse lungo il gran solco vallivo che separa il Gargano vero e proprio dalle colline di Rignano Manfredonia. Non mi pare, invece, inverosimile che Vieste, base navale di un certo interesse, potesse esser già bizantina, come porto di appoggio: molti anni prima, proprio alla fine del IX secolo (895–899), Bari e Siponto furono gli unici possessi bizantini di Puglia, con una larga intercapedine longobarda!

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[13] Lupo Protospatario, *sub anno*; *Annales Beneventani* (ed. O. Bertolini in *Bull. Ist. Itar. Ital.*, xlii, 1923); Romualdo Salernitano, *Chron.* (ed. Garufi), vii, I. Gli *Annales Barenses* pongono il fatto nel 928.

[14] *Età feudale*, ii, 88 e segg.

Tra il Fortore e l'Ofanto il confine è più stabile, anche se presenta non pochi ondeggiamenti.

Ascoli Satriano, Bovino e Lucera rappresentano i tre capisaldi della difesa bizantina, la prima bloccando la vallata del Calaggio-Carapelle, cioè la linea longobarda di S. Agata-M. Guardiola (questo toponimo testimonia molto chiaramente l'esistenza di opere difensive stabili); la seconda bloccava la valle del Cervaro e la strada che allora, come oggi, da Ariano puntava direttamente sulla piana di Capitanata; e la terza, finalmente, domina i monti della Daunia e le colline che a settentrione, fra Torremaggiore e Apricena, chiudono la pianura foggiana e sbarrano l'accesso al mare.

Contro Bovino si infrange il primo sforzo di Ottone, nel 969, che, tuttavia, l'anno dopo avrà la sua rivincita sotto Ascoli, e la città verrà occupata dal conte Conone (970) :[15] può essere che per qualche anno la piazzaforte sia rimasta in mani beneventane.[16]

In questo periodo di tempo deve esser stata fondata proprio di fronte al M. Guardiola, ma a sud dell'Ofanto, una località la cui importanza non è stata finora rilevata, ma il cui toponimo è estremamente significativo : *Catepano*, sulle pendici settentrionali del M. Cervaro e che domina il corso dell'Ofanto fra Ponte San Venere e M. Maggiore, controllando la nuova linea fortificata (longobarda) da M. Guardiola ad Ascoli. Di questo paese non conosco che si sia mai detto nulla : la posizione dominante ed il nome stanno a dire chiaramente che si tratta di un 'castrum,' la cui fondazione può essere approssimativamente datata fra il 975 ed il 985.[17] Poteva anche essere, la fondazione di Catepano, un risultato degli ammaestramenti dell'ultima campagna di Ottone, il quale aveva investito Bovino non venendo dal Beneventano, ma dalla piana pugliese, da Cassano Murge, aggirando probabilmente Canosa e passando l'Ofanto a ponente di questa piazzaforte : il nuovo posto fortificato sbarrava (o doveva sbarrare) tutto il corso dell' Ofanto, fino alla gola di Ponte S. Venere.

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[15] Sulla battaglia e la conquista di Ascoli le notizie più diffuse sono nel *Chronicon Salernitane* (*M.G.H.*, *SS.*, iii, c. 173).

[16] Gay, *L'Italie meridionale*, p. 356, pensò che Ascoli sia rimasta beneventana fino al 999, anno in cui, da un documento edito da Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*, Roma, 1865, n. xi, supponeva che il catepano Tornichi vi si fosse recato per rioccuparlo. Ma dal documento questa circostanza non risulta. Si può invece pensare che l'occupazione beneventana si sia protratta fino al 983, anno in cui Calocyr Delfina, catepano, occupò la città nel mese di dicembre (Lupo Protos.). Di questa situazione è indiretta testimonianza la notizia dataci dagli *Annales Barenses* sub a. 981 : 'Fecerunt bellum Sipontini et Asculenses in vado Soncilo.' Ascoli, del resto, è sempre stata piuttosto riottosa al dominio bizantino : anche nel 1009, al momento della prima rivolta di Melo, essa è turbolenta, e qui infatti, si rifugia in un primo momento il capo pugliese; e ancora nel 1040 è Ascoli a ribellarsi per prima all'avvicinarsi dei Normanni di Aversa (*Ann. Bar.*).

[17] Per la data di fondazione del Catepanato, cfr. *Età feudale*, i, 364.

Non si può dire quanto questo dispositivo abbia funzionato : Ottone II arrivò appena fino a Lucera, alla fine di settembre del 981 (nè si sa se sia entrato in città), provenendo dalla valle del Fortore, e per la stessa via si proponeva di rientrare in Puglia due anni dopo, ma l'una e l'altra volta fu impedito nelle sue mosse da avvenimenti imprevedibili (rivolta di Benevento prima, morte di papa Giovanni XIII poi) : l'unica conseguenza che noi conosciamo è la riconquista bizantina di Ascoli, cioè il rafforzamento della linea di blocco Ofanto-Carapelle.

Un interrogativo che naturalmente non può aver risposta, è : perchè i Catepani, dopo avere sperimentata la possibilità di invasione dal Fortore, abbiano atteso un buon trent'anni per decidersi a fortificare il nord della Capitanata. Se è difficile fare oggi il processo alle intenzioni, figurarsi farlo a quelle d'allora!

È probabile che, approfittando delle rivalità fra Benevento e Spoleto, piuttosto aspre dopo la morte di Paldolfo Capodiferro, e la debolezza di Benevento, or ora staccatasi da Capua, i bizantini abbiano pensato di spingersi al nord con decisione : ciò spiegherebbe come a Termoli, secondo quanto scrisse il Gay,[18] le carte del periodo intorno al 983 siano datate dall'anno di impero di Basilio e Costantino. Usurpazioni, evidentemente, e si può pensare che la situazione sia stata ristabilita al momento del famoso pellegrinaggio di Ottone III al Gargano, un pellegrinaggio sui generis, con una scorta di guerrieri tutt'altro che disprezzabile e punteggiato da azioni politiche a Capua, a Benevento ed a Salerno. Verso il Mille, si può pensare, lo status quo doveva esser stato ristabilito nella Capitanata,[19] e poichè, morto Ottone III, nessun pericolo si profilava dalla parte beneventana, è molto probabile che si sia ritenuto sufficiente la linea di sbarramento verso il beneventano, mentre a settentrione e l'affievolirsi dei poteri del principe di Benevento su Larino, e la sotterranea animosità fra Benevento e Spoleto per le zone contestate fra Biferno e Fortore, e le paludi lungo la costa, costituivano altrettante ragioni di tranquillità.

Il brusco risveglio fu dato, nel 1017–1018 dalla seconda avventura di Melo, questa volta con l'appoggio di quelle forze normanne che non si allontaneranno più dall'Italia Meridionale. L'invasione parte proprio da questa zona sguernita, con l'evidente scopo di sfondare verso S. Severo e la piana, isolando la fortezza di Lucera e successivamente quelle di Bovino ed Ascoli. Ma la giornata di Civitate (22 giugno), in cui Melo subì una sconfitta, costrinse il barese a mutare di tattica. Non si sa per qual via, ma probabilmente per la stessa valle del Fortore (fino a Vulturara) e di qui per i passi montani dei Dauni, si presentò a sud di Lucera, a Biccari (Vaccaritia) dove sconfisse decisamente le truppe bizantine.[20] La località era ben scelta perchè questa strada fra Lucera ed Ascoli, era defilata da Bovino e completamente sguernita perchè nessuna via di una qualche importanza vi passava :

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[18] Gay, *L'Italie meridionale*, p. 357. Non concordo invece, con quanto scrisse Gay a p. 355, cioè che il tentativo di creare un vescovado a Termoli nel 947 sia dovuto a mangeggi dei bizantini, già in possesso di tale città : così come ci è pervenuta la notizia, non ci autorizza a pensare ad un intervento bizantino, tanto più che il tentativo è concomitante a quello di creare un vescovado a Trivento. È, molto più semplicemente, una manifestazione di autonomismo locale.

[19] Una tipica contromanovra imperiale, di preparazione, forse, all'azione diplomatica, è da considerare la bolla di Gragorio V, del 998, con la quale la Diocesi di Lucera veniva sottoposta all'archidiocesi di Benevento (*J.W.*, n. 3884).

[20] L'identificazione di Vaccaritia con Biccari discende dalla lettura dei due diplomi del Catepano Bojannes per la città di Troia (1019 e 1024) dove appunto si fa più volte riferimento ai Vaccaritienses, confinanti coi Troiani, e dal sigillo del Catepano Costantino Apo a Biagio preposito del monastero di S. Maria in Monte Arato (oggi Montaratro, a sopraccapo del bivio dove la strada per Biccari immette sulla Troia-Lucera), che ritorna a parlare di Vaccaritienses e Troiani : vedili in Trinchera, *Syllabus*, n. xviii, xx, e xxviii.

la decisiva sconfitta bizantina apriva la pianura della Capitanata a Melo ed ai Normanni, che giunsero facilmente fino davanti a Trani.

Gli avvenimenti posteriori sono noti: a noi interessa vedere quale fu l'insegnamento che ne trasse il catepano Bojannes.

Narra Leone Ostiense, nella sua Cronaca di Monte Cassino (ii, 51):[21] 'Ea tempestate supradictus Boiano catepanus, cum iam dudum Troiam, in capite Apuliae, construxisset, Draconariam quoque et Florentinum ac Civitatem et reliqua municipia quae vulgo Capitanata dicentur, edificavit, et ex circumpositis terris habitatores convocans, deinceps habitari constituit.' Della nuova città di Troia conosciamo discretamente i confini, dai due diplomi del Bojannes, del 1019 e 1024: tra il corso del Cervaro-Lavello e fino a Orsaia di Puglia, a mezzogiorno, di qui fino all'alto corso del Sorenzo, con un decorso non ben precisabile, e poi al Vulgano, passando per Montaratro (confine occidentale); questo torrente probabilmente, fino ad incontrare l'odierna statale Foggia-Lucera (confine settentrionale); e di qui, per Pietrafitta, di nuovo al Cervaro tra il Ponte della Madonna e il Santuario dell'Incoronata.[22] Con questa fortezza si inseriva un nuovo inespugnabile elemento nel dispositivo occidentale, bloccando completamente i Monti della Daunia: anche le altre tre fortezze segnano, in un certo senso, le tappe dell'invasione di Melo e chiudono il confine settentrionale: Dragonara è probabilmente da porre vicino ad Arenula, nella zona di Ripalta nell'ultimo tratto del corso del Fortore, in modo da dominare Lèsina e la strada littoranea; Civitate è alla confluenza tra lo Staina ed il Fortore; Fiorentino (o Ferenzuola) è a Nord-Ovest di Lucera fronteggiando l'angolo formato dai Monti della Daunia ed il Fortore; giustamente, in un certo senso, il Gay ha raffigurata in questo dispositivo, una specie di marca militare tra Ofanto e Fortore[23] col nome di Catepanata, anche perchè accanto all'ordinamento militare di questo grande campo trincerato, si rileva un riordinamento più profondo. Leone Ostiense ha messo in rilievo l'opera per il ripopolamento della zona svolta dal Bojannes (non so se, come Romualdo Salernitano, influenzato dai documenti per Troia, o per notizie tratte da altre fonti); i documenti accennano anche ad un rimaneggiamento diocesano: Lucera e Siponto elevate al rango di arcivescovado, mentre a Vieste, nel 1019, compare un vescovo Alfano. E pare che si desse anche mano ad un rinnovamento dell'agricoltura.[24] È molto probabile che ci sia stato anche un riordinamento amministrativo, forse mettendo questo territorio direttamente agli ordini del Catepano, con minori possibilità di autonomia; certo i turmarchi son presenti in ogni città, anche in località minori ma fortificate, come Ripalta e Civitate, e nelle lotte contro i Normanni, nella battaglia di M. Maggiore, si parla di Calabri, Longobardi e 'Capitanenses,' facendo intendere che si tratta di contingenti organizzati localmente,[26] onde, per ciò che riguarda la nostra regione, se ne deve ricavare l'ammissione di una sua organizzazione a provincia, come appunto la Calabria e la Longobardia. Conclusione non nuova, perchè già da mezzo secolo l'aveva tratta il Gay.

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[21] Leo Marsicanus (sive Hostiensis), *Chronicon Monasterii Cassinensis* in *M.G.H. SS.*, vii.

[22] Sono i tre documenti editi nel *Syllabus* e citati a nota 20: di essi è anche un ricordo in Romualdo Salernitano, *Chronica*, sub anno 1013–1019.

[23] Gay, *L'Italie meridionale*, p. 415.

[24] Così afferma il Gay, *Le Monastère de Tremiti*, in base a documenti del 1023 del Cartolario di quel monastero: da essi derivano anche le memorie sulle diocesi. Ma anche per la terra di Bari, il Bojannes si preoccupò di attuare un riordianamento, provocando la bolla di Giovanni XIX, del giugno 1025 (*Cod. Dipl. Barese*, i (Bari, 1897), n. 15), per l'arcivescovado di Bari, il cui territorio metropolitano si arresta all'Ofanto, salvo che verso la foce, dove lo passa per comprendere il territorio dell'antica diocesi di Salpi, a Nord-Ovest di Trinitapoli. Che sia questo un ricordo di un confine al corso del Carapelle?

Gli avvenimenti che portarono all'insediamento dei Normanni, si svolgono generalmente a sud dell'Ofanto, e toccano solo di riflesso la Capitanata. La stessa attribuzione di Siponto e Monte Sant'Angelo a Rainulfo d'Aversa, come quella di Civitate a Gualtiero[27] ha forse più il sapore di un'affermazione di principio che non di una vera e propria presa di possesso.

Lucera, ad esempio, rimane bizantina almeno fino al 1060,[28] e per Fiorentino v'è notizia che nel 1044 v'era un 'imperialis turma,'[29] e se Ascoli, attribuita a Guglielmo, era certamente normanna già dal 1041,[30] Bovino non fu occupata che nel 1045,[31] e Troia nel 1048. La penetrazione normanna in Capitanata, dunque, è piuttosto lenta, anche perchè ne furono rallentati dallo stesso atteggiamento di Argiro figlio di Melo, allorchè, dopo la battaglia di Monte Peloso, i Normanni lo riconobbero come duca di Puglia.[32] Infine, tornato Argiro alla fedeltà verso Bisanzio e presi accordi con papa Leone IX, per un'azione combinata contro i Normanni, questi poterono occupare Siponto e di li, rapidamente, marciare su Civitate per sorprendere l'esercito pontificio.

Nel frammentarismo baronale, successo a questa vittoria, che rappresenta la quasi completa espulsione dei Bizantini dalla Capitanata—resiste soltanto Lucera—l'unica cosa che soppravvive è il nome, sia pur un po' storpiato, ma con esso, per parecchio tempo, l'organizzazione amministrativa impressavi dal Catepano Bojannes. La costituzione delle fortezze sul Fortore ed il rafforzamento del cordone Fortore-Ofanto avevan creato la sicurezza interna (o almeno cosí si sperava), ma sopra tutto, attraverso un coordinato gioco dei vari elementi organizzativi, una unitá regionale che attraversò i secoli : la Capitanata non era più terra spopolata e disgregata, ma aveva raggiunto una precisa fisionomia, da cui solo il Gargano pare, ancor oggi, un poco appartarsi e distinguersi.

Carlo Guido Mor

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[26] La notizia ci è data dagli *Annales Barenses*, sub anno 1041.

[27] Leo Hostiensis, *Chronica*, ii, 66.

[28] *Cod. Dipl. Cav.*, vi, nn. mxxiv (agosto 1043), mxxxi (gennaio 1044), mxlii (ottobre 1044); vii, nn. mclxxx (aprile. 1053); viii, n. mcccii (gennaio 1060) hanno tutti la datazione degli anni di impero dei basilei di Costantinopoli.

[29] *Cod. Dipl. Cav.*, vi, n. mxlii (ottobre 1044).

[30] Amato, *Storia dei Normanni* (ed. V. di Bartolomaeis), Roma, 1935, ii, 20.

[31] Romualdo Salernitano, *Chron.* s.a.; lo fu per opera di Drogone.

[32] Amato, ii, 28; Leo Hostiensis, ii, 66; *Annales Barenses* e Lupo Protospatario ad a. 1042.

THE SALERNITAN COINAGE OF GISULF II (1052-77) AND ROBERT GUISCARD (1077-85)

I

THE coinage of Salerno and the neighbouring petty states of Campania in the tenth and eleventh centuries is one of the most curious and interesting of medieval Italy. These states—Benevento, Gaeta, Capua, Naples, Amalfi and Salerno—had either emerged from the break-up of the Lombard duchy of Benevento or gained their independence from an eastern empire too distant to control their activities, and they lay at the meeting point of three different monetary systems. Western Christendom, since the time of Charlemagne, had what was virtually a monometallic currency based on the silver penny. The Byzantine possessions in southern Italy adhered to the traditional imperial coinage of gold (solidus or bezant), silver (miliaresion), and copper (follaro or follis), the gold and copper[1] predominating. Arab Sicily mainly used the gold *rub*ʿ or quarter dinar, known in southern Italy as the tari. From these various sources Salerno and its neighbours, when they ceased to rely on an imported currency medium from outside, derived the general pattern of their coinage.

The earliest coins of Salerno, as one would expect, followed the Beneventan pattern. Siconulf (839–849)[2] struck solidi of base gold imitating those of Sicard of Benevento (832–839), which had been minted in vast quantities and largely driven their better predecessors out of circulation. He and his successors to the end of the century struck silver denari which were likewise Beneventan in inspiration. After the death of Guaimar I (901) the independent coinage of Salerno came temporarily to an end. The documentary evidence shows that at that time Byzantine solidi were in normal use, though as the tenth century progressed they came to be more and more supplemented by Islamic gold, primarily of Sicilian origin. Small change would be mainly provided by the abundant copper coinage of the Macedonian emperors, which circulated freely all over southern Italy.

When Salerno again began to strike coins of its own, they were of entirely new types. The gold coins (taris) were imitations of the quarter dinars of the Fatimid caliph Al-Muʿizz (953–975), at first of good style and metal and with legends which are intelligible even if clearly not engraved by Arabic die-cutters. Later they were of much rougher workmanship, with badly blundered legends and made of gold of inferior quality. Some of them have Latin letters, mixed up with the blundered Arabic legends, and such readings as *Gisulfus Princ.*[3] Since they begin with imitations of the coins of Al-Muʿizz, a contemporary of Gisulf I of Salerno (946–977), they are generally presumed to have started during his reign, though we have documentary evidence for the striking of such taris at Salerno only under Gisulf II (1052–1077).[4]

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[1] These coins are customarily described as bronze, but such analyses as are available (J. Hammer, *Der Feingehalt der griechischen und römischen Münzen*, Berlin, 1906, p. 141) show that they are of almost pure copper, and I prefer to use this term.

[2] For the history of Salerno and the dates of its rulers in the period that concerns me, I have in the main followed the excellent articles of Michelangelo Schipa, 'Storia del principato Longobardo di Salerno,' *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, xii, 1887, pp. 79–137, 209–264, 513–588, 740–777. For the period after 1077, the most useful work is the first volume of Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907). J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands*, 867–1071 (Bibl. des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Fasc. 90. Paris, 1904), is also useful. The sources for the coinage are dealt with below, pp. 38–9.

The copper coinage of follari attributed to Salerno is much more remarkable. Its general aspect is based on that of the follis of the Byzantine empire, and some of the types, such as the facing bust of the Redeemer, the Virgin, or some saint, or one or more facing busts of a ruler or rulers, or a legend running across the field or fitted into the angles of a cross, are purely Byzantine in inspiration. But there are some, notably two very striking types which show a view of the city with walls and towers, which have no counterpart in Byzantine coinage, and the variety of types is extraordinary. The legends are extremely curious, and for the most part without contemporary Byzantine equivalents. We find *Victoria* accompanying several types and once expanded to *Signum Victorie*, *Gloria*, *La(u)s Deo*, *Deo Gratias* (two types), *Amor Populi*, *Amabilis*, *Mense Augustu*, *Mense Octubr*, *Xc Re(gnat) Xc Impe(rat)*, most of which have no parallel in the whole field of medieval numismatics.[5] The mint is only named on two closely related types, and then with a laudatory epithet in the form *Opulenta Salerno.*[5bis] The other coins are attributed to Salerno on grounds of general similarity, and not altogether correctly, as we shall see.

Only three personal names, *Gisulfus Princeps*, *Manso Vicedux* and *Fulcui de Basacers*, appear on the coins, but the anonymity of the other types has nothing unusual about it. The emperor John Zimisces (969–976), for reasons of piety, had introduced at Byzantium what is known as the 'anonymous bronze' coinage, with a religious figure, usually the bust of the Redeemer, on one face, and a purely religious legend, such as *IHSVS XPISTVS BASILEV BASILE* or *IC XC NIKA*, on the other. These anonymous types continued to be struck for over a century, with occasional reversions to types giving the names of individual rulers. The careful study of overstrikes and types has enabled their order of issue to be established beyond any possibility of dispute, though the assignation of some of them to individual emperors remains open to discussion. The anonymity of so much of the Byzantine coinage of the tenth and eleventh century would therefore provide ample precedent for that of the coinage of the south Italian states.

The accepted attribution of the Salernitan copper coins was worked out by the distinguished numismatist Arturo Sambon in 1897, when he was preparing the sale catalogue of the important collection of his father, the coin dealer Giulio

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[3] Many of the drawings of coins with such readings as given by Spinelli, Sambon and others are not trustworthy, being the product of wishful thinking, but such coins do exist. Two photographic illustrations of coins with clear Latin legends are given in the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, xviii, pl. XIX. 10, 11.

[4] Texts of 1059–1061 cited in A. Sambon, *Recueil des monnaies médiévales du sud d'Italie avant la domination des Normands* (Paris, 1919), p. 61. See also below, p. 55.

[5] This is not true of the last, however; see below, p. 49–50.

[5bis] The grammar is odd, for Salerno is *Salernum* in Latin. The reading on the main series of the *Gisulfus* coins is SALERNV, but on the other series and on later coins on which the name appears in full it is SALERNO. Apparently the word is intended to be in the vernacular, and has changed its gender. It may also have been influenced by the well-known phrase *aurea Roma*.

Sambon.[6] Its conclusions appear in the classification adopted in this catalogue, but the grounds on which they were based were only published in 1908 in a series of articles in the French periodical *Le Musée.* These articles were reprinted at Paris in 1919 under the title *Recueil des monnaies du sud d'Italie avant la domination des Normands*, and will be cited here according to the pagination of this reprint, which is more widely known and generally accessible than the original version. Their conclusions were in the main adopted by Giulio Sambon in Part I of his *Repertorio generale delle monete coniate in Italia*, I (Paris, 1912), by Memmo Cagiati in his collector's handbook *I tipi monetali della zecca di Salerno* (Caserta, n.d. [c. 1923]),[7] and by the compiler of the section on Salerno in Volume XVIII of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* (1939). A number of articles by Luigi Dell'Erba, Carlo Prota, and Luigi Giliberti have added some fresh material and proposed minor modifications to Sambon's attributions of the coin, but have left its main outlines unchanged.[8]

The basic elements of this classification can be simply explained. The *Gisulfus princeps* of the coins is identified with Gisulf I (946–977), and a number of anonymous coins are fitted into the pattern of the political upheavals of the last years of his reign and those that followed his death. In 973 Gisulf was overthrown by a certain Landolf of Conza, a relative of the princely house of Capua. Landolf's own ruler Pandolf Ironhead secured Gisulf's restoration (974), but as his own protégé, and Gisulf was forced to associate Pandolf's son, a second Pandolf, on the throne of Salerno. When Gisulf died at the end of 977 the two Pandolfs were left in control, and for some years the city remained under Capuan domination. When Pandolf Ironhead died (March 981) his son was evicted by Manso III, duke of Amalfi, who maintained himself for two years in association with his own son John and was recognised by the emperor Otto II, at that time in southern Italy. In 983 a certain John, former tutor of the son of Pandolf Ironhead, came into power through a popular rising, and founded the dynasty which lasted for a century and was only overthrown by Robert Guiscard.[9]

Sambon associates with the restoration of Gisulf I (974–977) the coins reading *Amor Populi* and *Deo Gratias*, since the legends could be understood as expressing the prince's sentiments on his return to power, and a coin with a ruler's bust on each face and the legends *La*(*u*)*s Deo* and *Gloria*.[10] He assigns to the same period a coin of similar fabric with a temple on the reverse. The coins with the legend *Manso Vicedux* are attributed to the usurpation of Manso III, the *Vice* being doubtfully interpreted as *Vic*(*arius*) *e*(*t*), the *vicarius* resulting from Otto II's recognition of Manso's position. The other anonymous coins are assigned to the late tenth or early eleventh century, no attempt being made to do more than settle their relative order of issue on the evidence of overstrikes. For the coin with the legend *Imperator* and two figures on the reverse, Sambon gives as possible alternatives the Emperor Louis II and Guaifar I (866), Otto I and Pandolf Ironhead (967), Otto II and Manso III (981), Henry II and Pandolf of Teano (1022), and Conrad II and Guaimar V (1038). The coins with the legend *Amabilis* are assigned to the abbey of Amabilis or Casamabile, near Sarno, much favoured by Guaimar I in the late ninth century.[11]

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[6] *Collezione Sambon* (G. Sambon, Milan, 5 April 1897). Two later sale catalogues of particular importance for the series in question are those of the first part of the *Collezione Colonna* (C. and E. Canessa, Naples, 3 May 1909), for which Arturo Sambon was also responsible, and that of the *Collezioni Sambon-Giliberti* (Canessa, Naples, 10 December 1921), in which Arturo Sambon's own collection was finally dispersed. The text of the last catalogue is often unsatisfactory, and we can place full reliance only on the plates. See the strictures of Memmo Cagiati in his *Miscellanea Numismatica*, ii, 1921, pp. 163–164; the reply of L. Dell'Erba in *Bollettino del Circolo Numismatico Napoletano*, 1921, fasc. iii, pp. 40–42; and Cagiati's account of the sale in *Misc. Num.*, iii, 1922, pp. 26–27 ('Alcuni numeri d'ordine si verificarono non corrispondenti alle monete venute fuori, alquante classifiche e descrizioni si trovarono inesatte, non poche monete non rispondenti affatto ai dati denunziati nel catalogo, in quanto a sigle, ad emissioni, a grado di conservazione ed a numero di esemplari.').

[7] This volume, though consisting of little more than illustrations of the coins, without explanatory text, is essential, since it is so largely referred to by the *CNI.* The introduction, which reprints and expands an article earlier contributed to the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, xxx, 1917, pp. 375–379, is a comprehensive bibliography of the subject to date, and absolves me from mentioning here the works of Fusco, Spinelli, Foresio, Engel, etc. Foresio's plates are sometimes useful, though the eccentricity of some of his attributions—he ascribes the coin with the legend *Mense Augustu* to the Lombard king Rothari (636–652)—has led numismatists to neglect his book unduly (Padre Foresio Gaetano, *Le monete delle zecche di Salerno.* Parte I, Salerno, 1891).

[8] These articles will be referred to in their appropriate places below.

[9] For these events, see Schipa, *art. cit.*, pp. 244–251.

The fact that Sambon is prepared to consider the possibility of one of the anonymous coins having been struck on any one of five occasions over a span of nearly two centuries is sufficient to show how subjective and unreliable are some of his criteria, and necessarily casts suspicion on the other features of his classification of the coins. It is clearly worth attempting a fresh approach. There are in fact two separate problems: that of the relative chronology of the coins, i.e. their order of issue, and that of their absolute chronology. A further problem is that of their mint: are we really justified in attributing them all to Salerno?

II

Where no documentary evidence is available, chronological problems are usually attacked by numismatists in two ways. The most valuable type of evidence is that provided by coin hoards. Much can also be learnt from considerations of style, weight and fabric. In some series there is also evidence from overstrikes.

In the case of the coins of Salerno, the first two methods practically fail us. As frequently happens in Italy, where the law of treasure trove fails to do justice to the reasonable claims of a finder, little hoard evidence is available. Only a single hoard of Salernitan copper coins has been described, and that in a most unsatisfactory fashion.[12] As for criteria of style and fabric, stylistic uniformity depends on a well organised mint, in which the workmen receive a training which both improves their technical skill and subordinates their personal aesthetic inclinations to the tradition of the 'shop.' In the case of small mints producing coins only sporadically with a personnel recruited for the occasion, stylistic uniformity is not to be expected. Fabric is likewise an untrustworthy guide, for where the flans of older coins are used and overstriking is practised, two coins struck at the same time will differ greatly in appearance according to what coins they are struck on and the extent to which the preceding impressions have been erased. Weight will be an untrustworthy guide for the same reason. In the case of token coins of copper, the weight of the individual coin is of little account provided it is below the commercial value of the metal used, and consequently coins of almost any weight could be used as flans for the Salernitan issues. This explains the great differences in weight, size and thickness of the existing coins.

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[10] For illustrations of the coins mentioned in this paragraph, see below, Fig. 1.

[11] Sambon, *Recueil*, pp. 45–58.

[12] See below, p. 57.

Fortunately the same factor which renders virtually inapplicable the criteria of style and fabric has supplied an alternative in their place, for the vast majority of Salernitan coins are overstruck.

The phenomenon of overstriking is one that should perhaps be explained. The normal practice of a mint in making a coin is to prepare a blank, either by casting it in a mould or cutting it from a plate or bar of rolled or hammered metal, and to strike it between a pair of dies. But instead of preparing a fresh blank it is possible to take an old coin and use it as a "blank," either directly, trusting that the old impressions will be eliminated in the process of striking, or indirectly, after a preliminary hammering to obliterate these impressions. The practice is a bad one, and has rarely been applied to coins of gold and silver, where the intrinsic value of the metal is of importance and an old coin which has been long in circulation will be appreciably underweight. This is of less consequence in the case of a token coinage of copper, but even so, overstriking has usually only occurred when a mint has been in urgent need of saving either time or money. It is usually confined to periods of rapid political or economic change, when a government for some reason wishes to issue quickly a large quantity of new coin or when the intrinsic value of the metallic content of the coin has risen to such an extent that the mint will not pay its way, or at least not make a profit, if it goes to the expense of preparing a fresh flan for every newly struck coin.

Since the first impression on an overstruck coin is rarely completely obliterated by the subsequent striking, the practice of overstriking is of great use to the numismatist. If the first impression can be identified, it provides him with an absolutely certain guide to the chronological order in which the coins were struck. It is sometimes difficult to say with complete assurance which impression was the first, particularly where a coin has been overstruck three or four times, as sometimes occurs. But where the order of the impressions can be ascertained, overstriking is a surer indication of the order of issue than considerations of style, fabric, etc., can ever be. By good fortune, in the copper coinage of Salerno, as in the contemporary copper coinage of the Byzantine Empire, overstriking was the normal practice, and it is on this that we must mainly rely.

The first need is to establish as far as possible the relative chronology of the series within itself. Since overstruck coins are usually only partially legible and reproduce badly, it will be simplest to work from line drawings. Those reproduced on Fig. 1 are borrowed from Cagiati's handbook but are much reduced in size, since otherwise they would not have fitted on the page.[13] The numbering used is that of his book.

Cagiati's illustrations are usually not original, but have been taken by him from other sources, and they are not always trustworthy in their details, owing to the difficulty that sometimes exists in distinguishing between the elements that belong to the different strikings. The following have been in part re-drawn:[14]

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[13] An idea of the correct size can be obtained from fig. 3 and fig. 4 (e) on pp. 48–51, below.

[14] My thanks are due to Mr. M. C. Holderness, who made the drawings for me under my direction.

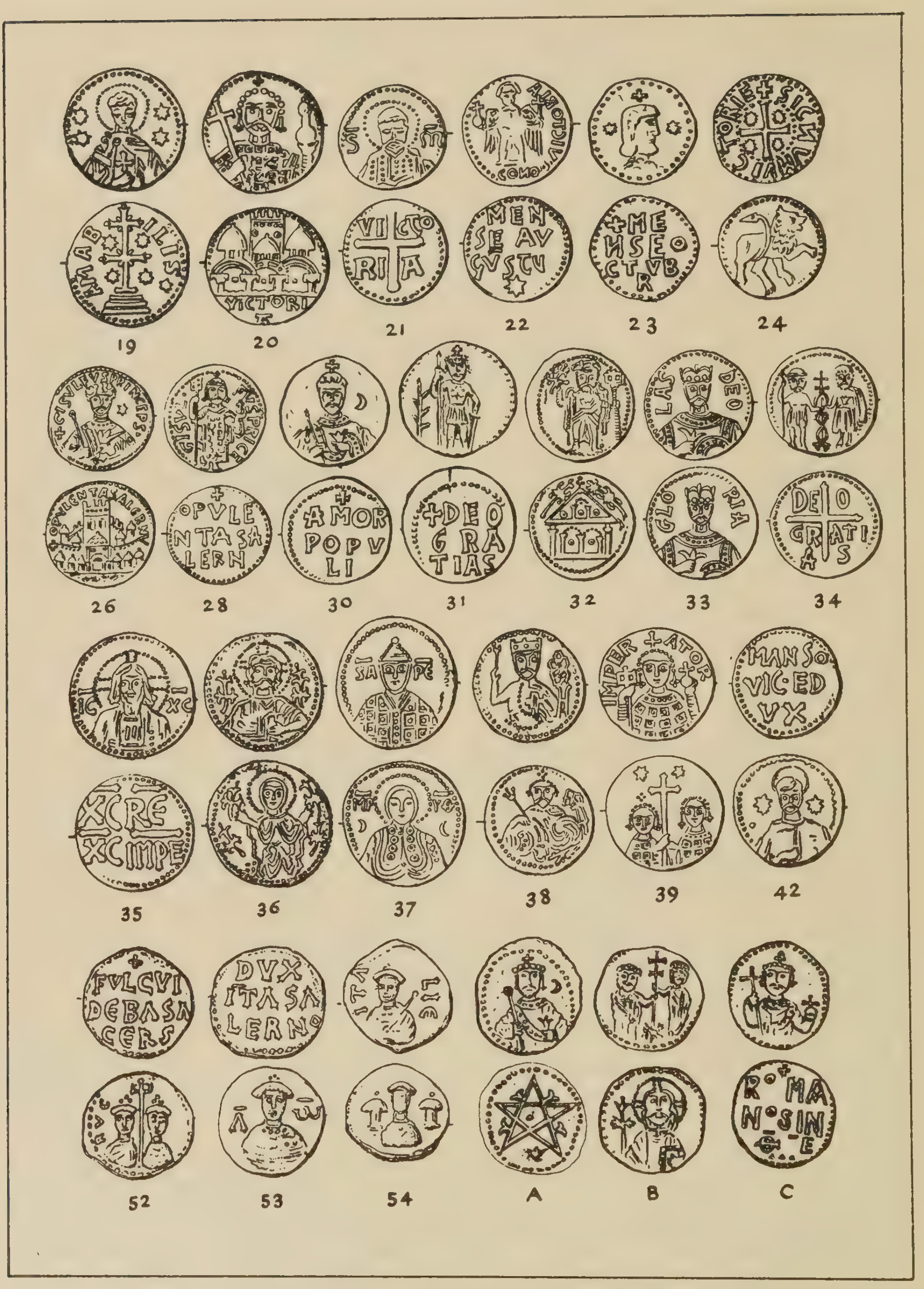
19
20
VICTORI
21
VI CCO RIA
22
MEN SE AV GVSTV
23
ME HSE CTVB R
24
26
28
OPVLE NTA SA LERN
30
AMOR POPV LI
31
DEO GRA TIAS
32
33
GLO RIA
34
DEO GRATIAS
35
XCRE XCIMPE
36
37
38
39
42
IMPER ATOR
MANSO VIC ED VX
52
53
54
FVLCVI DEBASA CERS
DVX ITASA LERNO
A
B
C
R MA N SIN E

Fig. 1. Follari of Salerno and related coins. (About half natural size).

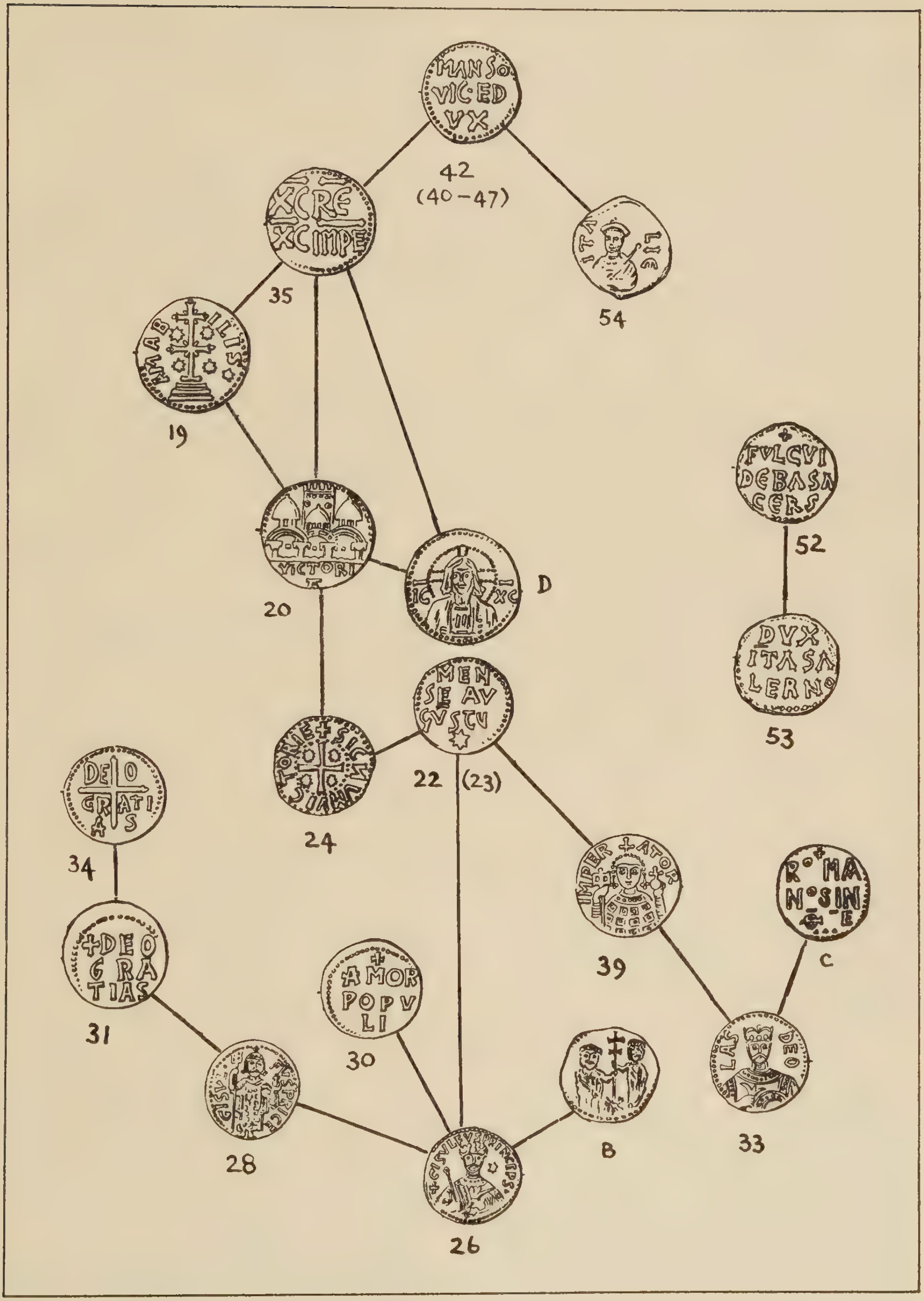
MANSO VIC·ED VX
42
(40–47)
XCRE XCIMPE
35
19
54
FVLCVI DEBASN CERS
52
VICTORI
20
D
MEN SE AV GVSTV
22 (23)
DVX ITA SA LERNO
53
24
DEO GRATI AS
34
IMPERATOR
39
+DEO G RA TIAS
31
AMOR POPV LI
30
C
33
28
B
26

Fig. 2. Diagram of overstrikes. (D is a Byzantine coin of *c.* 1080).

23. The word *Victoria* on the obverse and the star on the shoulder of the profile bust have been eliminated,[15] and the spelling on the reverse has been corrected from OCTOBR to OCTVBR.

24. An inner circle of pellets, separating the legend from the cross and stars, has been inserted. It must have been omitted in error, for it is always present on the coins and is a detail often helpful in identifying overstrikes.

30. The G in the field has been altered to a crescent (*CNI*, xviii, pl. XVIII.7; *Cat. Sambon,* no. 443).

31. The obverse has been redrawn with the help of *CNI*, pl. XVIII.8 and *Cat. Colonna*, pl. I.10. Although Cagiati elsewhere[16] positively asserted the accuracy of his drawing of this coin, a comparison with the illustration of the Colonna specimen shows that it was this which largely served as his model, and that what he took to be a shield is the head of Gisulf on an earlier striking.[17] The same specimen shows that the standing figure is clad in Byzantine military costume and wears a crown with pendants. This is less clear in the *CNI* specimen, which appears to have been badly cleaned.

53. Abbreviation stroke inserted above the IT on the reverse (*Cat. Colonna*, pl. I.12, specimen in the author's collection, etc.).

Nos. 52 and 54 are as in Cagiati's illustrations, though some doubts may be expressed about the presence of the letters RVC on the reverse of no. 52—they may belong to an earlier striking—and the correctness of the reading ITALIE on no. 54. Although the latter is supported by Prota,[18] who had a number of these coins, a specimen in the author's collection reads quite clearly LIC for the second half of the word. The first half of the legend is unfortunately not legible.

The coins illustrated do not give a complete picture of Salernitan coinage in the eleventh century, since they omit the gold coinage, the half follari of Gisulf (Cagiati, nos. 27, 29),[19] the follari of Roger Borsa bearing his name (nos. 56–59),[20] some of the coins of Manso *vicedux* (nos. 40, 41, 43–47),[21] and a small copper coin (no. 51) which Sambon attributes to Gisulf II but which I believe to be somewhat later[22] and which in any case would not affect the argument either way. Three coins have been added to those illustrated by Cagiati:

A. A follaro with a facing bust resembling that of no. 30 on one face and a pentacle, with plants in the outer angles, on the other. The only recorded specimen is in a private collection at Pavia, and was published by Giliberti in 1934.[23] The illustration he gives of it is not clear enough to allow one to say on what it is overstruck.

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[15] Cagiati's illustration is partly based on Foresio, pl. IV, 118, which shows such a star. This particular specimen, which is now in the author's collection, is overstruck on no. 26, and the star in question is to the right of the bust of Gisulf on the earlier coin. The word *Victoria* is never present. The letters ICT are shown on the specimen illustrated by Sambon, *Rec.*, no. 126, and Cagiati has reconstructed the word from this, but the letters belong to a different striking.

[16] *Miscellanea Numismatica*, ii, 1921, pp. 111–112.

[17] The Colonna coin was overstruck on Cagiati, no. 28, which in its turn was overstruck on no. 26. Traces of the designs of both these can be seen in the illustration.

[18] 'Di alcune monete poco conosciute,' in Memmo Cagiati's *Supplemento all' opera "Le monete del reame delle Due Sicilie,"* ii, nos. 8–9 (Aug.-Sept. 1912), p. 21.

[19] Also the coin illustrated in *CNI*, pl. XVIII.5, a piece of crude workmanship with type and legend reversed from left to right. It is evidently a contemporary counterfeit. There is a similar specimen in the author's collection.

[20] Cagiati, nos. 72 and 73 should also in my view be attributed to Roger Borsa. They are usually ascribed to Roger II and the years 1127–1130 on the ground that they give Roger the title of CO*mes* as well as DVX. The title of *Comes* would exclude Roger Borsa, and it was only in 1127–1130, before he assumed the title of king (1130), that Roger II was both count of Sicily and duke of Apulia. I am sceptical of the accuracy of the reading CO.

[21] The designs of the Manso coinage are in great confusion, since the different strikings have not been fully disentangled from one another and Cagiati, Sambon, etc., are not fully in agreement as to which obverses pair with which reverses. A comparison of Cagiati no. 43 with Sambon, *Recueil*, no. 129 d, for example, shows that the cross in the field has no business there at all, since it is the X from the legend IC XC of an earlier striking. Since I am not here concerned to disentangle the Manso coinage, and will only have to discuss it in relation to the other Salernitan coins, I have simply included Cagiati no. 42 as a token of its existence. See further below, pp. 58–59.

[22] The specimen in *CNI*, xviii, 317, no. 4 (= *Cat. Sambon*, no. 467) is said to read GISVLFVS in the margin, but this is not visible in the illustration, nor was it so read by Sambon.

B. A follaro showing the bust of the Redeemer on the obverse and two standing figures supporting a cross between them on the reverse. A specimen was published in 1934 by Prota, who assigned it to 964 and assumed that the reverse type showed the investiture of Pandolf Ironhead as prince of Capua by Otto I.[24] A better preserved specimen in the author's collection shows that the cross is a patriarchal one, with two cross-beams, and that the two figures are bearded and crowned and wear Byzantine costume. There is no sign of the 'pianta mistica' to the left of the bust of the Saviour which Prota describes and illustrates, but the author's specimen, which is overstruck on no. 26, is too corroded at this place for one to be able to say definitely that it is not there.

C. A follaro of which two specimens were illustrated by Foresio[25] and of which better reproductions are given in the *CNI*, pl. XIX, 13, 14. The obverse shows a facing 'imperial' bust, and the reverse has the legend + —— ROMA —— NOSIN —— Θ (?) Ē, no satisfactory interpretation of which has yet been suggested. One of the specimens in the *CNI* is overstruck on no. 33.[26]

The relationship between these coins, as shown by the overstrikings either published or otherwise available to the author, is shown graphically in Fig. 2. In interpreting this, it must be remembered that the issue of a particular type of coin would normally be spread over several months or years, and the fact that no. 42, for example, is found overstruck on no. 35 does not mean that the entire issue of no. 42 is necessarily later in date than no. 35. It merely proves that some of it was so, and leaves open the possibility that the two issues may have been in part contemporaneous and even that no. 42 may have been the first to start.

Keeping this in mind, the evidence for the interrelationships between the Italian—i.e. non-Byzantine—coins may be summarised as follows:

40–47 on 35. *Rec.*,[27] p. 55, no. 129 (d) = *Cat. Sambon-Giliberti*, no. 143. No. 47 is the latest type, being found overstruck on some at least of nos. 40–45 (cf. *CNI*, pl. I.3, and a similar specimen in the author's collection), but I am not attempting here to analyse the *Manso* group.

40–47 on 54. *Cat. Colonna*, no. 59 (illus.).

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[23] L. Giliberti, 'Un *follaro* inedito di Gisulfo I per Salerno,' *Boll. Circ. Numismat. Napoletano*, xv, 1934, no. 2, pp. 23–26. He attributes it to the period of the restoration of Gisulf I (974–977).

[23 *bis*] There is an error in the drawing given here which was discovered too late for it to be corrected. Gisulf is shown wearing a crown with pendants when on the coin he only wears a bonnet.

[24] C. Prota, 'Un inedito *follaro* religioso per Capua di Pandolfo Capo di Ferro e Ottone I imperatore (964),' *Ibid.*, xv, 1934, no. 2, pp. 16–19. Prota's drawing of it is reproduced in the *CNI*, pl. XII.24.

[25] *Op. cit.*, pl. I, 120.

[26] The reading given in the *CNI* has inserted the DEO of no. 33 into the legend of this one, thus making confusion worse confounded. The Θ, an O with a horizontal stroke through it, is doubtful, since it has got confused with the S of *La*(*u*)*s* on the previous striking, and in any case such a letter—it is the regular abbreviation for *obiit* in Beneventan manuscripts of the time—would be nonsense in this context.

[27] These references are to Sambon's *Recueil*.

35 on 20.	Author's collection.
35 on 19.	*Rec.*, pp. 54–55, no. 129c ("la monnaie à la légende AMABILIS est *presque toujours* . . . refrappée avec les types du follis religieux à la lègende XC. RE. XC. IMPE." The italics are Sambon's own).
19 on 20.	*Rec.*, pp. 54–55 ("la monnaie à la légende AMABILIS est *presque toujours* refrappée sur le follis à la légende VICTORIA"). There is a very clear example of this overstriking in the author's collection.
20 on 24.	*Rec.*, p. 53, no. 125a, illus. This specimen is now in the author's collection.
22, 23 on 39.	*Rec.*, p. 53, no. 123a = *Cat. Sambon-Giliberti*, no. 152 (22 on 39).
39 on 33.	Prota in *Boll. Circ. Num. Napoletano*, xv, no. 2 (1934), p. 19.
C on 33.	*CNI*, xviii, pl. XIX. 14.
22, 23 on 24.	Author's collection (22 on 24); Sambon, *Repertorio*, no. 510 (23 on 24; specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale); *Cat. Martinori* (Santamaria, Rome. Sale of 24 November 1913), no. 3691 (23 on 24).
22, 23 on 26.	Author's collection (23 on 26).
28 on 26.	*CNI*, pl. XVIII.6.
30 on 26.	*Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.7.
31 on 28.	*Cat. Colonna*, no. 38 (pl. I.10).
34 on 31.	Sambon, *Repertorio*, no. 525.
B on 26.	Author's collection.
52 on 53.	Author's collection. (Cf. *Cat. Sambon-Giliberti*, no. 159; the author's specimen is no. 158, illustrated as no. 160.)

No doubt further research at Naples and Rome would allow one to establish more links, but most of the types unaccounted for are very rare, and their insertion would scarcely affect the general picture given here.

The diagram brings out the existence of two relatively independent groups of coins, one deriving from no. 26 and the other from no. 20.[28] The restricted amount of overstriking between them is largely to be explained by their difference in size. The *Gisulfus* coins (no. 26) are of small neat fabric, about 20 mm. across and weighing some 3 g., while no. 20 is a coin of some 25 mm. diameter and much thicker, weighing 7 g. or over. It was therefore not convenient to strike no. 20, which as we shall see in a moment was the later in date, on no. 26, and in general this difference prevented the derivatives of no. 20 from being used as flans for no. 26 and its successors, though exceptions to this rule are occasionally found.

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[28] The diagram suggests derivation from no. 24 rather than from no. 20, but this is because it does not represent the frequency with which the overstrikes occur. Overstrikes 19/20 and 35/20 are extremely common, while 20/24 is quite exceptional. It is no. 20 that forms the starting point of the second group.

So much for the chronological framework, in relation to each other, of the principal Salernitan types. What of their absolute chronology?

In discussing this, it will be convenient to deal with the coins as if they formed three separate groups: (1) no. 20 and its anonymous derivatives; (2) no. 26 and its derivatives, also mainly anonymous; and (3) nos. 40–47, 52 and 53.

III

Sambon, as we have seen already, regarded all the anonymous coins as more or less contemporaneous, or at least issued over a relatively short space of time, and placed this in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. He did this mainly on subjective grounds: having assigned the *Gisulfus* coins to Gisulf I (946–977) rather than to Gisulf II (1052–1077), he then related the others to them in such a manner as seemed best to fit into the pattern of political events in Campania in the late tenth century. At the same time, it did not escape his attention that some of the anonymous coins were found overstruck on Byzantine coins, and that this might provide a means of establishing the absolute chronology of the whole series. A specimen of no. 35 which he illustrated is overstruck on a copper coin of Romanus I (919–944),[29] and specimens of nos. 35 and 20 are often found struck on Byzantine anonymous copper coins of the types illustrated by Sabatier on pl. LVIII, 16–19 of his monograph on Byzantine coins.[30] These coins were assigned by Sabatier to the Latin emperors of Constantinople,[31] but this ascription is obviously incorrect. They form part of the 'anonymous bronze' coinage introduced by John Zimisces, and Sambon saw no objection to placing their issue at the end of the tenth century.

At the time that Sambon wrote, such a position was not an untenable one, for Wroth, though stating that in his opinion the coins belonged to the time of Alexius I (1081–1118), did not discuss them in detail or include them in his catalogue of Byzantine coins in the British Museum.[32] In 1925 Professor Alfred R. Bellinger was led to study them in connection with the classification of the Byzantine coins discovered during the American excavations at Corinth, and brought evidence to show that they belonged to the early years of the reign of Alexius.[33] They have since been studied again by Miss Margaret A. Thompson, in connection with the coins discovered during the Agora excavations at Athens. Her examination of the overstrikes has confirmed the broad outlines of Professor Bellinger's dating, but shows that their issue began a few years earlier than he supposed, before the death of Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078–1081).[34] The particular group of which a specimen, overstruck by Cagiati no. 20, is illustrated by Sambon, is actually assigned by Miss Thompson to the reign of Nicephorus, since the excavations produced thirty-two specimens of it overstruck on coins having the name of Michael VII (1071–1078) and two overstruck on coins of Nicephorus himself, while there are twelve of Nicephorus III and two of Alexius I overstruck on it.

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[29] *Recueil*, p. 55, no. 129 b. The Byzantine coin on which it is overstruck is in W. Wroth, *Cat. of the Imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum* (1908), ii, 455–457, nos. 14–29 (pl. LII, 9–12). Sambon ascribes it wrongly to Romanus II instead of Romanus I.

[30] Sambon, *Recueil*, p. 55, no. 129a; p. 53, no. 124a; also pp. 50–51. With regard to no. 124a, he says that the Byzantine striking is the later of the two, but on p. 51 he describes the order as being the other way about, and this is borne out by the illustration. A photographic reproduction of such an overstrike is given in the catalogue of Part IV of the Ruchat Sale (Santamaria, Rome, 11 June 1923), no. 1029.

[31] J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862), ii, 235–236.

[32] Wroth, *op. cit.*, ii, 554. He followed Schlumberger in ascribing them to the Crusaders, an opinion which their discovery in quantity in excavations in Greece and Asia Minor has now definitely disproved.

[33] A. R. Bellinger, *The Anonymous Byzantine bronze coinage* (American Numismatic Society, Notes and Monographs, No. 35, New York, 1928), esp. pp. 21–23.

The diagram of Salernitan overstrikes worked out above shows that a considerable section of the Salernitan coins are restruck, either directly or indirectly, on Cagiati, no. 20. This coin now proves to be contemporary with or slightly later than a Byzantine coin which can be confidently assigned to the years 1078–1081. The dating of the anonymous Byzantine copper coins is sustained by a mass of corroborative evidence and cannot possibly be overthrown. The greater part of the elaborate pattern of Sambon's chronology of the Salernitan coinage must consequently be discarded. Pandolf Ironhead and his son, Otto II and Duke Manso III of Amalfi, even the abbey of Amabilis, must disappear from the picture. All types of coin overstruck on no. 20 must belong to the reign of Robert Guiscard and perhaps that of his successor Roger Borsa, not to the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.

In attempting to identify and date this coinage we must therefore begin with no. 20, the *Victoria* coins which show the effigy of a crowned prince on one face and the fortifications of a city on the other. They are the heaviest and most impressive coins of the entire series. The analysis of the Salernitan overstrikes shows that they form, so to speak, a second starting point in it, and their relationship to the Byzantine coinage of Nicephorus III shows that they are to be dated *c.* 1080 or later. It is reasonable to assign them to Robert Guiscard himself, their issue beginning with the fall of Salerno in 1077. The legend and the view of the city walls and towers reflect the pride of the Norman ruler on the capture of the city which became thenceforward the capital of the duchy of Apulia, and the figure in Byzantine robes and crown, holding a cross-sceptre and a double orb, represents Guiscard himself.[35]

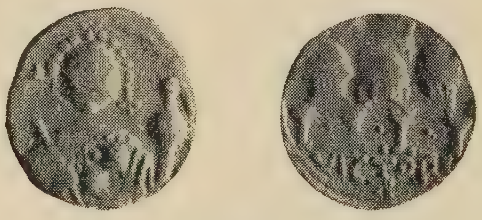

FIG. 3. Follaro of Robert Guiscard, struck after the fall of Salerno in 1077. (Author's collection. 6·97g)

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[34] *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavation conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.* Vol. ii. *The Coins* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 111, 114, Class I.

[35] Apart from what Sambon wrote about them, Dell'Erba devoted the best part (pp. 3–11) of an article 'Sui follari longobardi anonimi alla leggenda "Victoria" battuti in Salerno' (*Boll. Circ. Num. Napoletano*, 1925, pp. 3–16) to arguing that they dated from 974, and celebrated the restoration of Gisulf I to the throne. Such a date is quite impossible.

The chief derivative of the *Victoria* coins is the series with the legend *Amabilis*. These coins, as we have seen, were assigned by Arturo Sambon to the 'monastery' of Casamabile (*Amabilis*), and this ascription was followed by his father in his *Repertorio* (no. 512) and by the compilers of the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* (xviii. 251).

This 'monastery' is a pure fiction of Sambon's, and Casamabile can be expunged without more ado from lists of Italian mints. It is true that the gifts made in 868 by Guaifar I to the church or abbey of San Massimo included property at Casa Amabile near Sarno, 23 km. from Salerno, and that property in *loco qui dicitur Casa Amabile acto Sarnense* is mentioned in a number of charters in the *Codex Cavensis*,[36] but San Massimo was in Salerno itself and Casa Amabile was no more than one of its outlying farms. There is no evidence that it was ever the site of monastic buildings, and no possibility at all that the name of *Casa Amabile* could ever have been applied to San Massimo. In any case, no abbey in medieval Italy is known to have ever issued coinage. It would have been a complete anomaly in a country where the classical tradition of coinage was so deeply rooted.

Amabilis is in fact not a place name at all, but another of the 'religious' legends found on the coins of this period. Its meaning is 'pleasing' or 'beloved,' and in view of the way in which the Normans followed their Lombard predecessors in employing religious and other motifs of sometimes rather obscure significance on their coins, the task of finding a precise occasion for its use might well appear hopeless. As a tentative explanation, however, it may be suggested that it alludes to Roger Borsa, and that the occasion of the issue of the coins was Roger's formal designation as heir to the duchy when Guiscard set out for his invasion of the Balkan peninsula in 1081.[37]

This may sound far-fetched, but the Biblical allusion is plain enough. It will be remembered that *Amabilis* was the second name of Solomon, given him by Nathan the Prophet as a token 'that the Lord loved him,'[38] and that David passed over his elder children in Solomon's favour and settled the succession upon him. Exactly the same situation occured in Guiscard's family. His eldest and ablest son was Bohemund, whom he had by Alberada, but he passed him over in favour of Roger, his son by his second wife Sichelgaita, sister of Gisulf II of Salerno. Biblical parallels were never far from men's minds in the middle ages, and Guiscard's career presented many analogies to that of David. While admitting the element of conjecture in this, it may be suggested that the date of the *Amabilis* coinage was 1081, and that the legend alludes to Roger Borsa.

The second main group of derivatives of no. 20 is the coinage with XC RE XC IMPE as its legend. Here we are on firmer ground, for these words form part of the liturgical formula *Christus vincit*, *Christus regnat*, *Christus imperat* whose remarkable history has been traced by Professor E. H. Kantorowicz and which played a notable part in the coin legends of western Europe.[39] Its use by the Normans of Apulia on their coins was peculiarly appropriate, for Guiscard and his successors were vassals of neither the eastern nor the western emperor but of the pope, and the latter acknowledged no earthly sovereign. It was not for nothing that the opening words of the formal announcement of the election of Gregory VII with which his Register begins are *regnante domino nostro Iesu Christo.* One is tempted to date the appearance of the formula on the coins of Guiscard from 1080, when the duke met Gregory at Ceprano (29 June) to renew his oath of fealty to the papal see and be confirmed by the pope in his possessions.[40] But there is another element in the formula of which account must be taken. The first part of the *Christus vincit* triad is almost ostentatiously omitted, and this, in the form of IC XC NIKA, was a well-known coin type in the Byzantine empire.[41] The obverse of Guiscard's *Christus regnat* coin, the bust of the Redeemer, is indistinguishable from that of a Byzantine coin, and the use of the phrase *Christus regnat, Christus imperat* suggests the intentional completion of a formula already in use. In any case, the *Christus regnat* coins are common ones, and the type was probably being struck during the last few years of Guiscard's reign.

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[36] *Codex diplomaticus Cavensis*, ed. M. Morcaldi, M. Schiani and S. de Stephano, i (Naples, 1873), no. 64 (charter of Guaifar I of 868); property at Amabilis is mentioned in earlier documents (nos. 45, 51, 52, 58), and the locality occasionally figures in later charters of the abbey.

[37] William of Apulia, *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, iv, 185 sq. (ed. R. Wilmans in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Scriptores*, ix, 283):

'Advenit interea coniux, comitesque rogati.
Egregiam sobolem multo spectante Rogerum
Accessit populo, cunctisque videntibus illum,
Haeredem statuit, praeponit et omnibus illum,
Ipse quibus praelatus erat.'

Cf. also *lib.* v. 345 sq. (p. 297).

[38] II Regum, xii, 24–25 (in A. V. = II Samuel, xii, 24–25):

'Et Dominus dilexit eum; misitque in manu Nathan prophetae, et vocavit nomen ejus: Amabilis Deo, eo quod diligeret eum Dominus.'

Besides the *Amabilis* and the *Christus regnat* coins there are three further anonymous types which belong to the 'heavy' group of Salernitan follari: nos. 36, 37 and 38. There is no information available that would allow us to date them, but they presumably belong to the last years of Guiscard's reign or the early years of Roger's. The style of no. 37 somewhat resembles that of a coin of Roger with a Greek legend which has been variously ascribed to Brindisi, Bari or Salerno.[42] Since it has as type a bust of St. Peter, a saint who otherwise plays no part in Salernitan coinage, it can perhaps be associated with Gregory VII's retirement to Salerno in 1084–1085 after the sack of Rome by the Normans. It is found overstruck on no. 36.[43]

IV

We may turn now to the coins with the legend *Gisulfus princeps* (nos. 26, 28) and their derivatives.[44] Are these of Gisulf I, as Sambon supposed, or should we assign them to the reign of Gisulf II, closer to the later coinage which has just been discussed? Modern numismatists have in the main tended to follow Sambon, but opinion in the nineteenth century, as represented by Fusco, Spinelli and Foresio, on the whole favoured Gisulf II.

Here we have no evidence of restriking to assist us, but something just as good: the evidence of the transmission of type. This shows conclusively that the *Gisulfus*

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[39] *Laudes Regiae. A study in liturgical acclamations and mediaeval ruler worship* (Berkeley, 1946), pp. 9–12, 222–230. The argument of this paper strengthens Professor Kantorowicz's view (p. 10) that in its original use in south Italy the formula was regarded as 'very Norman,' since it now appears that it did not derive from one previously employed by the Lombards.

[40] *Registrum Gregorii VII*, viii, 1a, 1b.

[41] Wroth, *Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine coins*, pl. LX, 6, 7. This type is now ascribed to Michael IV (1034–1041), though I believe it to be a little later. There is a very rare type of Alexius I (not in Wroth) with the same legend, but its rarity is such that it is scarcely likely to have influenced Guiscard's coinage.

[42] *CNI*, xviii, 190, no. 1 (pl. VIII, 16).

[43] Dell'Erba in *Boll. Circ. Num. Napoletano*, 1923, p. 19, fig. 4.

[44] A number of references to specimens of the *Gisulfus* coins are usefully collected by Cagiati in his *Miscellanea Numismatica*, ii, 1921, pp. 107–110.

princeps must be Gisulf II, not Gisulf I, for the 'fortifications of Salerno' type, as it appears on the coins of *Gisulfus*, was inspired by the reverse of coins of Archbishop Anno of Cologne (1056–1075).[44bis]

This can be clearly seen from the sequence of types illustrated in Fig. 4. The coin types of Cologne underwent in the eleventh century an evolution which was to have a profound influence on the art of most of the coinage of northern Germany during the next two hundred years. When Archbishop Hermann II (1036–1056) began to mint in his name alone, after the death of the Emperor Conrad II (1039), his normal type (a) showed a pentastyle temple with pointed gable,[45] which derived directly from the old 'temple type' introduced by Charlemagne. Shortly before his death in 1056 he replaced this by a new coin of a revolutionary design (b), having his facing bust on the obverse and on the reverse a building with a pointed central gable like that of the old temple, two cupola-topped side towers, and a doorway in front.[46] The legend on the new coins was *Colonia Urbs* instead of the traditional *Sancta Colonia*. The design was probably influenced by those of contemporary seals, which at about this period were also beginning to show a predilection for architectural types.[47]

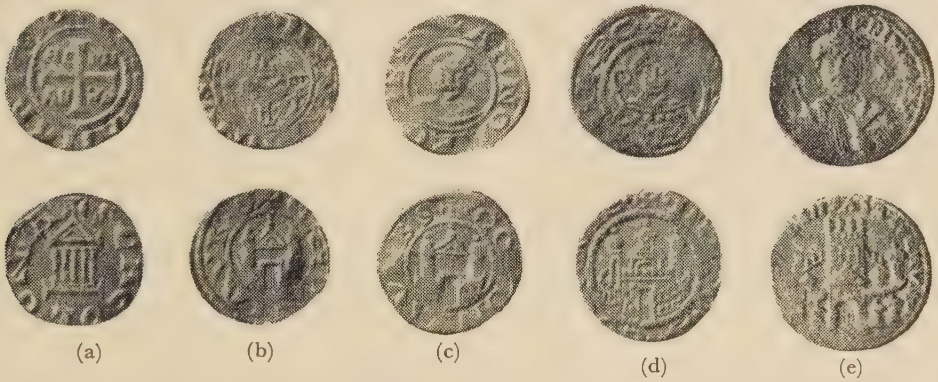
(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)

FIG. 4. Pennies of Archbishops Hermann II (a, b) and Anno (c, d) of Cologne; follaro of Gisulf II of Salerno (e).

Under Hermann's successor Anno (1056–1075) this design was taken over and further elaborated in a series of types whose issue probably began in 1057. The earliest of these (c)[48] resembles in most respects that of Hermann II, but in time the gabled top was replaced by a cupola-covered central tower and the walls surrounding the city assumed a more prominent place in the design, while

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[44bis] Also, as is pointed out below (p. 54), the armed figure of Gisulf on no. 31 is copied from a nomisma of the Emperor Isaac I Comnenus (1057–1059).

[45] Walter Hävernick, *Die Münzen von Köln. I. Vom Beginn der Prägung bis* 1304 (Cologne, 1935), p. 69, no. 278.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 74, no. 306.

[47] Otto Posse, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von Pippin bis Ludwig den Bayern*, i (Dresden, 1909), pl. 13, no. 8: counterseal of Conrad II on a document of 19 July 1033 showing a three-towered representation of *Aurea Roma* with the legend *Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi.* Cf. also pl. 14, no. 4, and pl. 15, no. 4, both seals of Henry III (1039–1056). The really elaborate designs came only in the twelfth century. The Norman princes of Capua had a particular predilection for this type of seal (see A. Engel, *Recherches sur la numismatique et la sigillographie des Normands de Sicile et d'Italie*, Paris, 1882, pl. II), and a simplified 'building' design is common on Capuan coins.

[48] Hävernick, *op. cit.*, p. 80, no. 333.

the legend became more specific than before, *Imago Colonie* (d).[49] Despite certain obvious differences, notably in the central tower, which on the Salernitan coins ends in a square battlement,[50] the general type of the *Gisulfus* coins so closely resembles that of Anno that I find it impossible not to assume that one is borrowed from the other, and the place of Anno's coins in the general evolution of Cologne coin types shows that the borrowing must have been from Cologne to Salerno, not the other way about.

Beside the borrowing of design, there was a borrowing of technique as well. From the point of view of fabric, Gisulf's two coin types are very unlike one another. No. 28, which the evidence of overstriking shows to be the later of the two, is of crude workmanship and irregular flan, with big careless lettering and rough design. The Byzantine inspiration of the type is very strongly marked. No. 26, on the contrary, is a beautifully finished coin. The flan is usually almost perfectly circular and the thickness is uniform, just as is that of a modern coin, instead of tapering away at the edges, as is normal on coins of that period. The lettering is small and neat, unlike that of the other series. Such a regularity of flan is very characteristic of the Cologne coinage of this period, and differentiates it sharply from most of its contemporaries. Though Gisulf's coin is copper and not silver, its general effect is 'western' and not 'eastern.' Whether Gisulf used German workmen or not, it seems to me clear that at some point in his reign he determined to substitute this new and perfectly finished coin, with a design inspired from the Rhineland, for whatever copper coinage had been in circulation before.

We have no information as to how the borrowing occurred, but relations between Germany and Italy were at that time sufficiently close for Italians to be familiar with German coin types. Coins of Cologne were reaching Rome at this period, though not perhaps in great quantity; there were several of Archbishops Pilgrim and Hermann in the hoard of San Paolo fuori le Mura (1843), and others came to light in the Vatican excavations. Anno and Gisulf had a point of contact in Pope Alexander II (1061–1073). It was Anno who had represented the emperor and the transalpine clergy at the synod of Mantua, which in May 1064 had determined that German support should be given to Alexander instead of the antipope Cadalus of Parma, and the archbishop of Cologne was in Rome for the Lenten synod in 1068, though on this occasion he had to do penance for having visited Cadalus on his way.[51] As for Gisulf II, Pope Alexander visited him at Salerno in 1067,[52] and Gregory VII, the day after his election (22 April 1073), wrote summoning Gisulf to Rome, saying that the church had great need of his services.[53] Between that date and his downfall in 1077 Gisulf was in constant relations with Gregory VII, and it was in Rome that he found a refuge after the conquest of Salerno by Robert Guiscard. These events occurred too late to affect the coinage under discussion, but it is clear that Gisulf was sufficiently close to the centre of affairs to have had plenty of opportunity of meeting with Anno's coins and deciding to copy them.

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[49] *Ibid.*, p. 81, no. 338. Later coins show endless varieties of these architectural designs.

[50] It is probable that the coin designs are genuinely representational, the two side towers and the smaller towers depicting the fortifications on the water-front and the great central tower being the Rocca itself. Tradition had it that the advice to construct the fortifications had been sent to Guaifar by a friendly Muslim, before the siege of 871–872, through the intermediacy of a merchant from Amalfi trading in north Africa ('ut omnimodis undique urbem suam rehaedificari faciat, et antemuralem illum qui est iuxta mare sine mora in altum elevet, aliam turrem in uno capite et aliam in alio, simulque et in medium non exiguas faciat': *Chronicon Salernitanum*, c. 110, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Script.*, iii, 528).

[51] Theodor Lindner, *Anno II der Heilige* (Leipzig, 1869), pp. 42–43, 61–62.

[52] Schipa, *art. cit.* (above, p. 37, no. 2), p. 561. The Empress Agnes also visited Salerno sometime in the late 1060's or early 1070's (Amato di Montecassino, *Storia de' Normanni*, viii, 3: ed. V. de Barthomaeis, Rome, 1935, p. 343).

There is little evidence on which we can base any attempt to date the coinage, and only one indication is provided by the coins themselves. The 'fortifications' type shows Gisulf wearing a bonnet[53*bis*] and holding as his symbols of authority a ball-topped sceptre[54] and a kind of flower. The 'legend in field' type shows him bearded,[55] in full Byzantine costume, wearing a crown of Byzantine type with pendants and holding a labarum and a globus cruciger. It is reasonable to connect the change of type with his visit to Constantinople, when he attired himself in garments adorned with gold and precious stones and tried to outrival the emperor in magnificence and pride—this at least was what was reported in Italy[56]—and returned with a treaty of amity and his coffers full of gold,[57] and possibly with a few high-sounding Byzantine titles into the bargain. Since this expedition to Constantinople can apparently be dated 1062,[58] the second type belongs to the period between this date and Gisulf's downfall.

This change of type, from bonnet to Byzantine crown, gives us a clue to the arrangement of the derivatives of the *Gisulfus* coins and of the other anonymous types of small module, all of which must I think be fitted into the later years of Gisulf's reign.

There are two types, nos. 30 (*Amor populi*) and A (Solomon's seal), which show the prince wearing a bonnet and holding as his symbols of authority a ball-topped sceptre and a flower, as he does on the 'fortifications' type. No. 30 is itself overstruck on the 'fortifications' type, and must therefore be later than it in date. Both no. 30 and A can presumably be dated *c.* 1060. There is nothing to show which of them came first.

Five types are 'Byzantine' in their details: nos. 31 (*Deo gratias*, one figure), 34 (*Deo gratias*, two figures), 39 (*Imperator*), B (two figures), and C (facing bust, with *Romanos . . .* legend). B is found overstruck on no. 26, no. 31 on no. 28, and no. 34 on no. 31. Several of them clearly refer to the relationship established between Gisulf and the Byzantine empire as a result of the prince's visit to Constantinople. No. 31 is specially noteworthy, for instead of the standing figure wearing ceremonial court robes descending to the ankles, it shows him in short military tunic armed with spear and with his hand on the scabbard of his sword. It is copied from the remarkable nomisma of the Emperor Isaac I Comnenus (1057–1059), which broke with the traditional representation of the emperor on the coins and showed the same design.[59] All these coins must belong to the late 1060's or early 1070's.

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[53] Schipa, *art. cit.*, p. 566. Gregory addresses him in the most flattering terms: 'Tu autem ipse quantotius ad nos venire non pretermittas, qui, quantum Romana ecclesia te indigeat et in prudentia tua fiduciam habeat, non ignoras' (*Registrum*, i, 2).

[53*bis*] On some specimens it looks as if he is bareheaded and has his hair elaborately dressed, but I think a flat bonnet is intended.

[54] This type of sceptre was then usual in the west. Besides those shown in manuscript illuminations, a certain number of actual specimens have survived, such as the so-called Petrusstab in the Domschatz at Cologne and the rather earlier Petrusstab at Limburg which once belonged to Archbishop Egbert of Trier (977–993).

[55] Beards were not at this time customary in the west, and to wear a beard was regarded as very "Byzantine." When Archbishop Alfano of Salerno returned from the east in 1062 (?) and visited Robert Guiscard, people 'se merveilla que vint o grant barbe, comme s'il fust de Constantinoble' (Amato, iv, 39; ed. de Bartholomaeis, p. 211).

[56] Amato, iv, 37 (ed. de Bartholomaeis, p. 208): 'Pour soi mostrer, porta lo vestement aorné de or et de pierrez precieuses, coment se ceste cose non se trovassent en Constentinoble, en la cort de lo Imperor. Et manda messages avant a lo Impereor, et demanda chose que jamaiz nul autre non demanda. Quar vouloit que lui fust appareillié lo siege devant lo Impereor, et fist prononcier son avenement coment ce fist un autre empereor.'

[57] *Ibid.*, iv, 39 (p. 211): 'Et retorna riche de li don de li Empereor.' Earlier in the chapter the figure is given as 60 *centenaria* of gold, but this is obviously merely rumour.

[58] Schipa, *art. cit.*, pp. 557–558, but it is not certain.

One type (no. 33 : *La*(*u*)*s Deo*) is purely western in the design of its crown, which resembles those attributed to Conrad II and Henry III on many German mints, but the ruler depicted on the coin holds on his breast a flower, like that borne by Gisulf on the 'fortifications' coins. This coin is found overstruck by two of the 'Byzantine' types, nos. 39 and C. Its issue must therefore have come between the 'bonnet' and the 'Byzantine' series. No. 32 is half Byzantine in dress, but the temple shown on the reverse appears to be German in inspiration. No evidence regarding overstriking is available, so one can do no more than attribute the coin to the later years of Gisulf's reign.[60]

Finally, forming a group to themselves, are the three *Victoria* coins: no. 22, with obverse copied from a sixth century solidus and with reverse legend *Mense Augustu*; no. 23, with obverse copied from some classical portrait coin[61] and reverse legend *Mense Octubr*; and no. 24, with reverse which is perhaps classical in inspiration and with obverse legend *Signum Victorie*. With these should perhaps be classed a fourth coin, no. 21, with the facing bust of St. Matthew, the patron saint of Salerno, as its obverse type and on its reverse the legend *Victoria* in the angles of a cross. Despite the legend, however, I am inclined to believe that this coin belongs to a rather later date, in the reign of Roger Borsa, since its fabric is very different from the others and it does not appear to be connected with them through overstrikes.

Numismatists who have discussed the coins with *Mense Augustu* and *Mense Octubr* have naturally associated them with some siege of Salerno, for obsidional money, or emergency money in a broad sense, is very frequently dated according to the month of issue.[62] Sambon originally ascribed them to the siege of Salerno by the Saracens in 871–872. Since this began in October 871 and ended with the defeat of the African forces in the following August, the months actually mentioned on the coins seemed to give direct support to this idea. He subsequently recognised that the coins could not possibly be so early, and assumed that they referred to events of the period of Guaimar V (1027–1052) of which no record has been preserved.[63] Dell'Erba continued to believe in 871–872.[64]

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[59] Wroth, *op. cit.*, pl. LX, 13.

[60] Some specimens of this are said to have on the obverse the legend *Gisulfus prin* (Sambon, *Repertorio*, no. 522 = *Cat. Sambon* 445, 446). This may be correct, but it is possibly due to overstriking on no. 26.

[61] There are a number of instances of the use of ancient coins in this way in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The facing lion's scalp used as a coin-type by the Normans in Sicily was copied from Greek coins of Messana and Rhegium.

[62] The best known and most extensive series is the Irish 'gun money' of 1689–1690, which is dated by every month from July 1689 to October 1690 inclusive.

[63] *Recueil*, p. 52.

[64] 'Sui follari longobardi anonimi alla leggenda "Victoria" battuti in Salerno' (cited above, p. 48, n. 35), pp. 11–15.

The evidence brought forward above shows that the *Mense Augustu* and *Mense Octubr* coins are to be associated with the *Signum Victorie* coins and that they are later than the *Gisulfus* coins but earlier than Guiscard's series of *Victoria* coins, which in their turn must have been struck after the capture of the city. There is therefore every reason to suppose that they were actually struck during the great siege of 1076–1077. This began in May 1076 and did not end till Gisulf surrendered the citadel in June 1077, though the greater part of the city was in Guiscard's hands from December 1076 onwards. Whether the coins were issued by besiegers or besieged there is nothing to show, but unless and until proof to the contrary is forthcoming we can fairly assign them to Gisulf II, more especially since there are other coins that appear to be a contemporary issue of Guiscard.

It is unfortunate that we have virtually no written evidence regarding Salernitan coinage at this period. Apart from references in charters to gold taris *ex moneta que illis diebus in hec civitate puplice formantur* or *in hac civitate formatos*,[65] the only text appears to be Amato's account of how Gisulf debased the coinage, issuing gold, silver and copper coins which were under weight, so that good money was lacking. The prince tried to force men to use the base coin and then prosecuted them when they did so, alleging that it was they and not he who had falsified it.[66] Unfortunately the monk of Monte Cassino, who detested 'lo ferocissime prince de Salerno' and all his works, is only concerned with this debasement as one more illustration of Gisulf's wickedness, and the whole passage is couched in such general terms that little can be made of it.[67] But it may contain an element of truth. Gisulf's gold coinage is of the poorest alloy imaginable,[68] and his later issues of copper were apparently of reduced weight. Since his reign coincided with a period of violent currency change at Constantinople[69] he may not have been entirely to blame, for he could scarcely have hoped to escape the consequences of this great monetary upheaval in the eastern Mediterranean.

V

We come finally to three groups of coins which cannot be separated from the Salernitan issues of this period, though two of them and probably all three are not from the regular mint of Salerno. The first group consists of the coins with as legend either DVX I$\overline{\text{T}}$A SALERNO or ITALIE (?) (nos. 53, 54),[70] the second the coins with FVLCVI DE BASACERS (no. 52), and the third the coins with MANSO VICEDUX (nos. 40–47). The first bears the name of no individual ruler, the other two the names of a Norman and a Lombard respectively.

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[65] See above, p. 38, n. 4.

[66] Amato, iv, 39 (pp. 211–12).

[67] There is no indication of date, and the reference to silver coin—Amato says that 'tant de or, tant de argent et de rame fist faire monoie de manque poiz'—is purely rhetorical, for Salerno had no coinage of this metal. It may be noted that Amato's reference in another passage (iii, 52; p. 169) to a *quadrante*, which has occasioned his editor some perplexity, since he assumed it to be a coin of the period, is nothing but a Biblical allusion (Matt., v, 26).

[68] Two specimens in the author's collection have a fineness of under 8 carats, and weigh 0·96 g. and 0·92 g. A rather earlier coin, with an intelligible Arabic legend, has a fineness of about 21 carats and weighs 1.02 g.

[69] See below, p. 59.

[70] Stylistically the *Italie* coins are closely related to the others, but I refrain from discussing them in detail since, as said above (p. 44), I am not satisfied regarding the accuracy of the reading of the legend.

On the assumption that $\mathrm{I\overline{T}A}$ in the first series was an abbreviation for *Italiae*, Sambon originally assigned these coins to Robert Guiscard and assumed that they were struck after the renewal of the latter's oath of fealty to the pope in 1080. Subsequently he abandoned this opinion and proposed to assign them to Guaimar V of Salerno (1027–1052), who became overlord of the Normans in Apulia in 1042.[71]

There are objections to either of these interpretations. In the first place, there are palaeographical difficulties in interpreting $\mathrm{I\overline{T}A}$ as *Italiae*, for the stroke above the letters should be a sign of suspension, not of contraction, and the missing letters ought to be from within the word, not at the end of it. Even if this point be ignored, on the ground that palaeographical accuracy is not to be looked for in coin legends, there are difficulties over the phrase *dux Italiae*. *Italia* as part of a ducal title was normally used only in Greek, not in Latin. In Byzantine administrative terminology *Italia* was the equivalent of Apulia, and there are occasional examples in the mid eleventh century of it being taken over directly into Latin; the Greek Argyrus, for example, is called *dux Italiae* by a Latin chronicler,[72] and the same title was used officially by the Norman Drogo a few years later.[73] But though Guaimar was Drogo's overlord and appears as *dux Apuliae et Calabriae* in charters, there is no evidence that he ever called himself *dux Italiae*, and even if he had done so there is no likelihood that he would have minted at Salerno with any title other than that of *princeps*. As for Guiscard, he is invariably *dux Apuliae et Calabriae et Siciliae* in Latin; it is only in Greek, as for example on his seals, that he is *δούξ ἰταλίας καλαβρίας καὶ σικελίας*.[74]

Nevertheless Guiscard seems to be the most likely claimant to the coins. A date after 1077 would be difficult to accept, since we have already coins of this period of a quite different type on which the duke wears a Byzantine crown, not a bonnet. A date before 1076 is impossible, in view of the reference in the coin legend to Salerno. But they may be the counterpart to the obsidional coins of 1076–1077 which have already been discussed, being struck by the duke between his capture of the city and the final surrender of Gisulf II six months later. The meaning of $\overline{\mathrm{ITA}}$ must be regarded as an open question. Possibly it is *Italiae*, despite the palaeographical and diplomatic difficulties involved. Possibly it has nothing at all to do with *dux*, but stands for *inclita* or some other epithet of Salerno, the equivalent of the *opulenta* on the coins of Gisulf. Possibly it is an abbreviation for *intra*, an unusually emphatic but not inconceivable way of denoting a mint, the equivalent of the Arabic formula '*Struck in the city of* . . .' used on the Islamic coins of Sicily and subsequently taken over by the Normans.[75] We have no evidence that would allow us to decide the question.

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[71] 'Monete salernitane col titolo "duca d'Italia" e monete dell'insurrezione pugliese,' in Cagiati's *Miscellanea Numismatica*, ii, 1921, pp. 19–21.

[72] 'In mense Febr. factus est Argiro Barensis princeps et dux Italiae' (Lupus Protospatarius, *Annales*, a. 1042, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *SS.*, v. 58). As Greek governor of Apulia he was *μάγιστρος καὶ δοῦζ ἰταλιας* (Chalandon, *op. cit.*, i, 110, n. 3).

[73] 'Dux et magister Italiae comesque Normannorum totius Apuliae et Calabriae' (Chalandon, *loc. cit.*, from a charter).

[74] Engel, *Recherches sur la numismatique et sigillographie des Normands*, pl. I, 1. Cf. F. Chalandon, 'La diplomatique des Normands de Sicile et de l'Italie méridionale,' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Ecole franc. de Rome), xx, 1900, pp. 189–190.

[75] The formula is rendered into Latin, on a coin of William II of Sicily, as *Operata in urbe Messana* (Sambon, *Repertorio*, no. 1002).

The second group of coins is that which bears the legend FVLCVI DE BASACERS. The name was identified by Duke Catemario di Quadri in a footnote in the catalogue of the Sambon-Giliberti sale, and subsequently discussed at length by Professor Dell'Erba in an article published in 1932.[76] Fulco appears in charters of 1094, 1105 and 1112, and was evidently a personage of some slight consequence at the court of Roger Borsa and his successor.

Dell'Erba argued that his coins must date from the reign of Roger II, since a specimen in the Prota collection was overstruck on a follaro of Roger as count-duke of the years 1127–1130,[77] and he suggested 1134 and Capua as the probable date and mint. The follaro ascribed to 1127–1130, however, is really of a much earlier date,[78] and Sambon, writing before the name of Fulco had been identified in the documents but much influenced by the fact that the coins of Fulco are usually found overstruck on the DVX ITA SALERNO series which he ascribed to Guaimar V, proposed to attribute them to some unknown Norman rebel in one of the many Apulian insurrections of the mid eleventh century.[79]

Since Fulco was still alive in 1112, such a date would be too early, and the restriking on the DVX ITA SALERNO coins, if the date I have proposed for these is correct, shows that the coinage was still being issued after 1077. There is hoard evidence which suggests that the coinage was already in existence in this year, and it seems reasonable to assume that Fulco was simply an enterprising Norman knight who started minting on his own account at a date before Guiscard's coinage had begun and consequently at a date before any ducal monopoly of the coinage could possibly have been formulated. Since such an individual right of coinage, once asserted, would be difficult to suppress, Fulco's coinage may well have continued into the reign of Roger Borsa. There is nothing to show where his mint may have been.[80]

The date of *c.* 1077 depends in part on the evidence of a hoard of about fifty follari acquired in 1934 by Professor Prota. Unfortunately the description of it[81] which he published is most unsatisfactory, as he only listed the types it contained without giving any indication of how many there were of each or what were their weights, or (with rare exceptions) the nature of the overstrikes involved. It was very clearly, however, a 'Gisulf' hoard, for it included the two types (nos. 26 and 28) bearing his name and five of the derivatives of these (nos. 22, 23, 30, 33 and 39) including the two with *Mense Augustu* and *Mense Octubr.* It also included the coins with the legend *Dux Ita Salerno* and *Italie* (?), coins of Fulco, and coins of Manso *Vicedux*. It did not include the large 'fortifications' coin of Guiscard (no. 20) or any of either of its two main derivatives, the *Amabilis* (no. 19) or *Christus regnat* (no. 35) coins.[82] We are therefore justified in actually dating the hoard 1077, and assuming that it was buried during the siege or immediately after it.

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[76] 'Induzioni circa un follaro di Ruggiero II normanno in unione con Fulco di Basacers probabilmente battuto a Capua (1134?),' *Boll. Circ. Num. Napoletano*, xiii, 1932, no. i, pp. 5–15. The form of the name in charters is *Fulco de Basugerio.* I have failed to discover what locality in Normandy is represented by *Basugerio.* It might be the fairly common French place-name *Bazoches* in one of its various forms. Chalandon renders him 'Foulques de Bassenger.'

[77] He illustrated the overstruck coin on p. 10, fig. 7, but few details of the earlier coin seem to have been visible.

[78] Above, p. 44, n. 20.

[79] Sambon, *art. cit.* (above, p. 56, n. 71), pp. 20–21. He specifically suggests the revolt of 1064, when what Amato terms 'lo esperit de emulation et d'envie' of the Norman barons, backed by Byzantine gold, raised all Apulia in arms against Guiscard. His view was endorsed by Prota in the article referred to below, n. 81, since Prota's hoard puts a date as late as 1134 quite out of court.

[80] Prota, in the article referred to in the next note, mentions that apart from a single specimen from Molfetta in Apulia all the specimens of the *Fulcui* coins whose provenance he knew of came from the region of Salerno. If Fulco were in attendance on Guiscard during the siege, as presumably he would be, this is not necessarily significant.

[81] In his article 'Un inedito *follaro* religioso per Capua di Pandolfo Capo di Ferro e Ottone I Imperatore (964)', *Boll. Circ. Num. Napoletano*, xv, 1934, no. 2, pp. 16–22.

We come finally to the coins of Manso *Vicedux*.[83] His title is evidently analogous to those of *vicecomes*, *vicedominus*, *vicecancellarius*, and so on, and may have been either self-assumed or may indicate an official subordinate to the *dux Apuliae* who was minting at some city other than Salerno itself. The position of the coins in the table of overstrikes shows that they were probably still being minted after 1085, while from the hoard just described it appears that they already existed in 1077. Manso's name is Lombard, not Norman, and the fact that he continued to mint till a relatively late date shows that he must have been persona grata to the new masters of Salerno.

There seem to be three possibilities, the first being unlikely but either of the others being reasonable.

Since Manso was virtually the family name of the dukes of Amalfi, we might assume that after the city surrendered itself to Guiscard in 1073 in order to save itself from Salernitan domination, the duke installed a member of the old dynasty as *vicedux* and that this official assumed or was granted the right of coining money. We know in fact from documents of 1080 and 1098 that Duke Manso IV (the Blind) of Amalfi, who had been deposed in 1053, left a son and ultimately a grandson of the same name, and that the grandson had died shortly before 1098.[84] Towards the end of the century Roger Borsa, who was half Lombard himself through his mother Sichelgaita, showed what the Normans regarded as undue favour to his Lombard subjects, raising them to positions of political authority, and Amalfi in particular is mentioned in this connection; it was to Roger's policy of favouring Lombards at Amalfi that Malaterra ascribed the revolt of the city against the Normans in 1096.[85] But against the identification of Manso *vicedux* with the son or grandson of Manso IV are the facts that the policy of favouring the Lombards was not that of Guiscard but of Roger, that the coins in question apparently go back at least to 1077, and that the Amalfitan charters just referred to do not give the son and grandson of Manso IV any title higher than that of *dominus*. The assumption that there was a *vicedux* Manso at Amalfi seems therefore unlikely.

The second possibility is to identify Manso with a prominent and wealthy citizen of Salerno of this name who with his brother Leo had fallen foul of Gisulf II, partly because of their friendly relations with Richard of Aversa, and had been forced to retire to a fortress in the country, 'une roche molt secure et molt fortissime de grant manière,' where they could defy the prince of Salerno with impunity.[86] The tale is only known to us through Amato of Montecassino, so that it is difficult to judge how important the rebels really were, or whether they were likely to have maintained their independence for a period of over twenty years, for their rebellion seems to have occurred in the middle 1050's and Manso *vicedux* was still striking coin after 1077. But the Manso of Amato's tale would at least satisfy one requirement of the situation, that of explaining how a ruler with a Lombard name was still able to mint when the power of Guiscard was fully established.

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[82] According to Prota, it did include a specimen or specimens of no. 36, which, although not definitely known from the evidence of overstrikes to be a derivative of no. 20 does I believe come into this category. If this is not simply a slip on Prota's part, I can only assume that some extraneous coins were added to the hoard before it reached his hands.

[83] Useful material on these coins is published in Carlo Prota's article, 'Le monete di rame di Mansone Duca di Amalfi il primo di tal nome e Vicario Imperiale di Ottone II a Salerno (981–983),' *Boll. Circ. Num. Napoletano*, xix, 1938, no. 1–2, pp. 14–31, though the author accepts the traditional ascription of the coins.

[84] Matteo Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città e ducato di Amalfi* (Salerno, 1876), i, 273, 293.

[85] Gaufredo Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, iv, 24 (ed. E. Pontieri in Muratori, *RR. II. SS.*, new edn., v (1), Bologna, 1928, p. 102).

The third alternative is to admit that Manso is completely unknown to us. Fulco de Basacers, after all, is known to us not from the chronicles of the time but from the casual appearance of his name in the witness lists of charters, and there is no reason to believe that he was a person of importance. If a man as little known as Fulco could strike coins, so obviously could a person totally unknown to us. None the less, I am inclined to prefer the second solution, and identify Manso *vicedux* with the Manso of Amato's tale. The mint is as little identifiable as is that of Fulco de Basacers.

VI

One final word in conclusion. The redating here proposed for the Salernitan coinage and its attribution to Gisulf II and Robert Guiscard bring it into complete harmony with what we know of the history of Byzantine coinage in the eleventh century and of the political and economic relations between Byzantium and the west.

As long as the Byzantine empire was the dominant power in south Italy, as long as its money remained stable and it had a land frontier with the principality of Salerno, there was no need for the princes of Salerno to provide themselves with a coinage of their own. They could continue to use that of Byzantium, as their predecessors had done for a century and a half. But by the middle of the eleventh century these conditions no longer obtained. The depreciation of the bezant was begun in or soon after 1042 by the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055) and continued intermittently over the next forty years, till by the reign of Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078–1081) the gold content of the bezant was only a third of what it had been before the process began.[87] The exact effect of this on the copper coinage is unknown to us, but it must have been serious, and fluctuations in the value of the copper are no doubt one explanation of the constant recoining of anonymous types during these years.

At the same time that Byzantine coinage was becoming less attractive to the Salernitans, it was also becoming less accessible. Robert Guiscard had arrived in Italy in 1046, and in the 1050's and 1060's was leading his fellow countrymen to the conquest of Apulia and Calabria. Bari, the last Byzantine stronghold on the mainland, was not reduced till 1071, but already before that the principality of Salerno was ringed on east and south by Norman lands. Gisulf II had therefore strong incentives, which his predecessors had not, to inaugurate an independent coinage of his own, and it is in his reign that the remarkable copper coinage of Salerno must be regarded as having begun.

PHILIP GRIERSON

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[86] Amato, iii, 44 (pp. 159–161).

[87] See my article, 'The debasement of the bezant in the eleventh century,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xlvii, 1954, pp. 379–394, where the process is traced in some detail.

PER LO STUDIO DELLA SCRITTURA MINUSCOLA NELL' ITALIA MERIDIONALE

(Plates VI–IX)

Quando si esamina il quadro grafico della scrittura nell' Italia Meridionale dall' VIII al XII secolo e anche agli inizi del sec. XIII, si accetta di considerare l'ampiezza di espansione nel tempo e nello spazio della scrittura beneventana come determinante al punto da trascurare quelle forme diverse esistenti nel periodo della sua fioritura ma non riconosciute mai con una autonomia di scritture vere e proprie a sé stanti.[1]

Così un tipo precarolino indipendente di carattere semionciale corsivo affiora nel periodo formativo di transizione, ma non arriva ad offrire o almeno a lasciare una tradizione grafica fissa ed importante. Il prepotente affermarsi del carattere beneventano distoglie spesso l'occhio dello studioso a cui invece l'indagine archivistica e la revisione locale da farsi per paese in tutte le regioni dell' Italia Meridionale porterebbe alla concretizzazione dell' ipotesi, che l'indagine approfondita può trasformare in certezza, dell'esistenza cioè nelle regioni meridionali, con uno sviluppo ritardato, ma con gli stessi caratteri, della scrittura minuscola rotonda del centro e del nord.[2]

Si vuol proprio accennare nelle presenti note che questa scrittura, con caratteri e tipi calligrafici ben definiti, fa supporre l'esistenza di scuole o di scribi singoli conoscitori di una forma grafica che si infiltra e produce al momento non solo del trapasso della beneventana nella gotica, ma anche contemporanea in alcuni centri a dimostrazione della fisonomia particolare che la forma scrittoria può assumere localmente di fronte al tipo dominante.

E' noto che nel sec. XI l'espansione iniziale della scrittura dal centro del Ducato Longobardo di Benevento nei luoghi noti della sua penetrazione, non riuscì a mantenere l'unità scrittoria rispetto ai centri curiali in particolare.

Causa storica e remota di questo fenomeno che pose una barriera tra i paesi tra di loro limitandone un bel momento i rapporti di cultura e di studio, fu la suddivisione politica dell' Italia Meridionale in tante piccole province. In Campania, in Calabria, negli Abruzzi, nel Sannio, in Puglia, in Basilicata lo isolamento produce il formarsi di Scuole locali o centri scrittorî in cui si subiscono o si risentono tutte le cause di progresso o di regresso che portano a modificare una forma grafica. Mentre tra le mura di Montecassino la scrittura beneventana raggiungeva una forma elegantissima di calligrafia che le corti principesche riprendevano e che la miniatura elevava a vera forma di arte bella, nelle curie maggiormente oberate di affari come Napoli, Gaeta, Amalfi, Ravello, Sorrento, la scrittura consorella degenerava in una forma sempre più corsiva fino ad assumere i noti caratteri tachigrafici.[3]

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[1] E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan script. A history of the South Italian minuscule*, Oxford, 1914, p. 29 e sg.; A. Gallo, 'Contributo allo studio delle scritture meridionali nell'Alto Medioevo,' *Bullett. Ist. Stor. Ital.*, 1932, p. 3 e sg.; E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana: facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian MSS. from the 6th to the 14th century*, Oxford, 1929.

[2] Pagnin, 'La formazione della scrittura carolina in Italia,' *Atti Istit. Veneto di Scienze, Lett. e Arti*, cviii (1949–1950), p. 49 e sg. e la bibliografia ivi citata; A. de Boüard, 'La question des origines de la minuscule caroline,' in *Palaeographia Latina*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, iv, 1925, pp. 71–83; Bartoloni, *Ancora sulle scritture precaroline* (Roma, 1950).

Così nelle città pugliesi, dove la beneventana, nei centri di Bari e di Corato, aveva assunto un aspetto così caratteristico, si osserva nel progresso corsivo generale il prepotente sviluppo di una differenziazione locale di carattere rotondo.[4]

Anche in Abruzzo, per citare un altro esempio, nella Terra di Lavoro, questo corsivo si rafforza in una foggia di scrittura dal tracciato semplice e lineare, spontaneo, che accanto agli ultimi splendori della beneventana può ben servire a dimostrare che esso rappresenta nella grafia del sud una riforma della corsiva romana nuova, di quella minuscola che, con un ritardo di quasi due secoli, portò anche nelle regioni meridionali la carolina.

In una pergamena dell' a. 985,[5] riportata dal Capasso, rinveniamo notizia della minuscola carolina nei nostri paesi: *liver consimile plenarium unum franciscum scriptum.* In un testamento amalfitano dell'a. 1007 tra i libri di un prete, Giovanni di Fontanella vi erano '*eptaticum unum manu francesca*; *libra duo de regum manu francesca*' e un '*Ysidorum*' parimenti scritto *manu francesca.* L'espressione è correlativa nelle carte di quel tempo ai termini *longobardisco*, *beneventano*, *neapolitano* etc. che designavano le scritture locali.

Per i codici l'esame fatto dal Loew ha sanzionato la opinione che la scuola di Montecassino resistette nella forma libraria, così che i codici in minuscola anteriori al principio del sec. XII sono ben pochi.

Due fatti, però, concorsero alla salda affermazione nei documenti della nuova forma: la decadenza della scuola cassinese e la conquista normanna con il conseguente afflusso dalla Francia di gente di ogni genere.

Anche se la resistenza dei curiali nei ducati fu tale da portare direttamente la trasformazione della scrittura loro propria nella gotica, la Curia Regia Normanna fu fonte di produzione e di forza per il nuovo tipo grafico e i notai locali vi si adattarono, anche se gradatamente, come lo dimostrano le belle pergamene prodotte nel principato di Capua, a Salerno, in Basilicata, a Matera.

Nel soffermarci brevemente sulla Puglia, in Abruzzo e ad Aversa, si vuol dar l'esempio di quanto utile al fine di una ricostruzione scrittoria sarebbe uno studio approfondito e omogeneo condotto localmente in tutti i centri dell' Italia Meridionale. La Puglia è la regione che offre il maggior materiale di studio, anche comparativo, per la resistenza della forma beneventana che coesiste in principio con la minuscola e perché la minuscola vi assurge a tale grado di perfezione da presentare carte notarili che non lasciano nulla a desiderare, per l'eleganza della forma grafica, a pagine di codici.

All'inizio del sec. XII assistiamo in questa regione alla progressiva modificazione della forma grafica, in particolare a Siponto, a Montesantangelo, a Bari, a Barletta;

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[3] A. Gallo, 'La scrittura curiale napoletana nel Medio Evo,' *Bullett. Ist. Storico Ital.*, 1929, p. 3 e sg.; N. Barone, *Contributo allo studio della tachigrafia curialesca napoletana*, Napoli, 1929, passim; R. Filangieri, 'La charta Amalfitana,' *Arch. Ital.*, 1919, n. 1–3; R. Filangieri, *Codice Dipl. Amalfitano*, vol. i, Napoli, 1917; ii, Trani, 1950, etc.

[4] V. tutti i facsimili riportati nei volumi del *Codice Diplomatico Barese.*

[5] B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus pertinentia*, Neapoli, ii (1885), p. 154, n. 245.

le reminiscenze della beneventana sono però sempre appariscenti nella *a* e nella *t*. La fondazione della Monarchia Normanna accelera l'evoluzione: verso il 1140 a Bari e a Molfetta si ritrova una forma elegante ed accurata; a Barletta tra il 1143 e il 1147 i primi elementi della minuscola rotonda appaiono evidenti nella grafia della *a* e della *t* che abbandonano definitivamente il tipo beneventano.

La transizione si accentua gradatamente ma costante nello sviluppo cronologico: la rotondità della scrittura è già appariscente in una carta di Vico Garganico del 1151, mentre già due anni prima era trionfante a Dragonara, cui seguiva Vico, Casalnuovo e Salpi.

Ma la maggior perfezione la nuova minuscola la raggiunge a Salpi, dove accanto all'antica forma ancora persistente, essa si ritrova originalissima in alcune pergamene scritte tra l'a. 1157 e il 1160. Queste carte appartenevano originariamente allo Archivio di un milite, Moreliano, figlio di Germano, dimorante in Salpi, che lasciò *pro anima* parecchi beni e queste scritture alla Badia di Montesacro, donde passarono poi nei fondi delle Pergamene di Barletta.

F. S. Nitti nell' edizione delle Pergamene dell' Archivio Capitolare di Barletta, riportò le pergamene di Salpi dall' a. 1148 al 1284 e tra queste, due atti del suddetto Moreliano dell' ottobre 1159 e del luglio 1160, con il facsimile in appendice.

Il Filangieri nell' edizione delle Pergamene di Barletta dell' Archivio di Stato di Napoli, pubblicava altri due atti di Salpi, sempre dell' Archivio del suddetto Moreliano, rispettivamente del 6 marzo e 8 dicembre 1157, completando il gruppo di questi singolarissimi atti che già esteriormente si presentavano di taglio rettangolare, perfetto, marginate e rigate.[6] La scrittura è una minuscola calligrafica, ingrandita, elegantissima e di rara perfezione tanto da sembrare scritta da chi avesse costume di vergare fogli di codici. Le lettere maiuscole riproducono ancora le forme onciali, cosí come tutte le vocali; le consonanti più caratteristiche hanno forma minuscola rotonda. Il nome del notaio è scritto in bellissime maiuscole sempre di tipo onciale così come il *signum tabellionis* è di un finissimo motivo decorativo di straordinaria precisione. La sottoscrizione del giudice Albano in capitali e onciali è contenuta in una di quelle forme metriche abbastanza in uso nelle sottoscrizioni del tempo.[7] Nello esame particolare dei singoli segni grafici si rileva come la *a* e *u* sono nella normale forma minuscola rotonda, come la *i* ha la base sempre arrotondata; notevole è la *d* di forma onciale nell'atto del 6 marzo, alternata con la forma carolina regolare in quello dell' 8 dicembre (cfr. i due facsimili riportati dal Nitti). Anche la *c* e la *t*, la *f* e la *g* hanno definita forma rotonda, mentre la *m* e la *n* mantengono i trattini costitutivi ben distinti: nel tratteggio minuscolo regolare, tra le altre consonanti la *r* è decisamente semionciale e la *s* alterna il tipo allungato con qualche apparizione in finale del tipo serpentino.

La forma diplomatica degli atti, due istrumenti di compravendita, non differisce sostanzialmente da quella adoperata dagli altri notai pugliesi del tempo, ma lo stile con postposizioni e forme ricercate persegue con ogni studio le eleganze classiche. Il diritto applicato è il longobardo e analogo il formulario, basato appunto sugli istituti e i formulari longobardi.

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[6] F. S. Nitti, *Le pergamene di Barletta—Archivio Capitolare* (*Codice diplomatico Barese*, vol. viii, Bari, 1914), p. XIV e 124, n. 86, 89; R. Filangieri, *Le Pergamene di Barletta dell'Archivio di Napoli* (*Cod. dipl. Barese*, vol. x. Bari, 1928), p. 29, e sg., n. 16 e 17.

[7] V. Plate VI; *Perg. di Barletta*, n. 16.

Poiché in un'altra carta sempre dello stesso archivio dell' a. 1165, ritorna il tipo di transizione dal carattere beneventano, è logico chiedersi quale fu la fonte dell' originale scrittura notarile precedentemente esaminata e usata dal notaio *Homodei*. Quest'ultimo poteva benissimo aver studiato l'arte della scrittura nelle scuole francesi, perché codici scritti in Francia in quel periodo, sono di grande somiglianza con la scrittura delle carte esaminate: sopratutto la *Farsaglia di Lucano* (n. 741 della Biblioteca di Reims) parrebbe quasi un modello di questi documenti. Almeno che il notaio non avesse appreso la grafia usata dai monaci benedettini dell' Abbazia di Montesacro che in Salpi avevano una *grangia* ed erano in grado di diffondere la minuscola libraria, potrebbe anche darsi che egli fosse un francese trasferito a Salpi ove trovavasi una colonia normanna, attestata dal cospicuo numero di *milites lege Francorum viventes* o *lege militum Salparum viventes*, come si legge spesso nelle pergamene di S. Giacomo di Barletta.

Il secondo esempio, a dimostrazione della simultaneità della diffusione della minuscola, lo prendiamo dall' Abruzzo, regione in cui la scrittura beneventana si ritrova nei caratteri originari del periodo formativo traendone i tipi grafici da un preziosissimo diplomatico, pervenuto all' Archivio di Napoli con l' Archivio Gentilizio Caracciolo di Santo Bono.[8]

Questo archivio è ora informe, ma la sua consistenza paleografico-diplomatica era realmente imponente, come è dimostrato da qualche inventario antico ugualmente non completo e dalla vastità del dominio feudale dei signori intestatari del fondo. I più antichi documenti ivi esistenti di carattere notarile offrono una testimonianza valida di una forma grafica di uso comune prodotta localmente fin dall' inizio del sec. XI e perdurante fino a tutto il sec. XII ed adoperata anche presso la corte principesca. Senza caratteristiche specifiche di influssi locali essa ha stretta analogia nella forma alfabetica, nel tratteggio, nella rotondità degli elementi con le scritture minuscole rotonde dell' Italia settentrionale e centrale dei secc. XI e XII. Espressa in due tipi, più calligrafico e più corrente, possono offrire esempio per la padronanza e l'usualità della forma, i gruppi delle pergamene di S. Maria della Noce a Belmonte, di S. Salvatore di Castiglione e di Rocca Spinalveti, dove in atti scritti successivamente nell'a. 1001, 1103, 1130, 1166 la scrittura rotonda presenta lettere calligrafiche di stile quasi infantile per la regolarità del tratteggio e la spazieggiatura degli elementi. Il più caratteristico è l'istrumento del 12 marzo 1166, dato a Belmonte.[9]

In quattordici righi di scrittura, piccolo di formato, è uno dei più begli esempi di scrittura rotonda di carattere normale in cui tutte le lettere alfabetiche presentano regolarità di tratteggio e di spazio con alternativa di linee brevi ed allungate svolte con spontaneità di mano usa a vergarle senza difficoltà: la *a* è chiusa di forma carolina; rotonda la *d* e la *t* di forma regolare, la *r* a carattere semionciale, la *s* sorpassante elegantemente il rigo al di sopra e al di sotto, la *m* e la *n* con i trattini arrotondati, la *i* breve o allungata nei nessi al di sotto del rigo. Il segno di abbreviazione è il trattino orizzontale semplice o raddoppiato, usato con parsimonia e misura. Anche la struttura diplomatica dell'atto, fatto per mano dello stesso autore, avvalora uno stile grafico di uso comune.

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[8] *Archivio Caracciolo di Santo Bono*, a cura di I. Mazzoleni (in *Arch. Priv.*, vol. ii: pubbl. Archivi di Stato xiv, Roma 1954), p. 28, 39, 61, 64.

[9] V. Plate VII; *Archivi privati*, p. 28, 18, n. 5.

Il terzo centro scrittorio degno di esame è Aversa. Limitando queste osservazioni preliminari al solo Diplomatico dell' Archivio Capitolare di Aversa, depositato per benevola concessione del Capitolo della stessa chiesa nell' Archivio di Napoli perchè se ne proceda da parte della Sezione Diplomatica alla sua completa revisione ed eventuale trascrizione, in particolare per la parte non considerata dal Gallo,[10] si può affermare che la testimonianza della scrittura minuscola con caratteri prevalentemente rotondi è documentata in una successione di carte quasi cronologica e sopratutto nella sua maggiore perfezione per i primi decenni del sec. XII. Se se ne potrà attuare, come si spera, la riproduzione fotografica, essa rappresenterà una buona guida per continuare l'indagine in tutto il territorio e nei centri scrittorii di altri archivi ecclesiastici della regione, di cui già si conoscono esemplari grafici non comuni.

Tre *carthulae donationis* successivamente degli anni 1124, 1125 e 1126 ci danno gli esempi di questa scrittura minuscola.

La prima dell'a. 1124,[11] è redatta in una grafia rotonda, quasi cancelleresca per l'allungamento accurato delle aste della *d*, *b* e *s* al di sopra del rigo, mentre la *a* presenta le anse chiuse e la *r* è decisamente minuscola rotonda. Poiché l'atto è scritto *per manus Johannis sacerdotis Sancti Pauli canonici et bibliothecarii*, si può supporre un organizzato *scriptorium* presso la stessa curia religiosa.

La seconda donazione, fatta sempre alla congregazione di S. Paolo, dell'a. 1125[12] si presenta scritta in una bella minuscola rotondeggiante, con leggera inclinazione verso destra: anche qui la *a* presenta l'occhiello chiuso a sinistra, mentre le altre vocali sono tutte minuscole; la *c*, *b*, *d* ugualmente regolari, slanciate al disopra del rigo *l*, *f*; la *g* è di tipo spiccatamente carolino, mentre la *t* presenta il trattino rettilineo. La rigatura a largo spazio rende regolarissima la grafia, le abbreviazioni sono molto semplici, il complesso del tracciato grafico dimostra una mano sicura e padrona della forma scrittoria.

Da paragonarsi con la precedente è la carta dell'a. 1126[13] perché mentre le lettere hanno la stessa forma, il tratteggio veloce, allungandole, dà loro una maggiore eleganza e speditezza.

Nelle segnature si ritrovano lettere minuscole, capitali e onciali.

La stessa forma rotonda regolare si alterna negli istrumenti notarili dall' a. 1130 al 1138[14] con quella dal tratteggio allungato quasi cancelleresco: però ciò che è più sorprendente e caratteristico è che in carte private dell' a. 1140 e 1142[15] si ritrova la stessa forma quasi libraria notata nelle pergamene di Salpi. E potremmo continuare ancora segnalando la diversità delle mani tra il 1140 e il 1150 che si contrappone ad una regolarità calligrafica da vera scuola.

La grafia minuscola rotonda persiste per tutto il sec. XII accanto all' elegante cancelleresca nei diplomi e vive con lettere ben calcate e di grande formato anche al principio del sec. XIII.[16]

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[10] *Codice Diplomatico Normanno di Aversa*, Napoli, 1926.

[11] Arch. Capitolare di Aversa, tomo x: Donationum, lib. i, n. 58; Gallo, *o.c.*, p. 33, n. XXII.

[12] Arch. Capit., *ut supra*, n. 59; Gallo, *o.c.*, p. 36, n. XXV, v. Plate VIII.

[13] Arch. Capit., *ut supra*, n. 60; Gallo, *o.c.*, p. 38, n. XXV.

[14] Arch. Capit., *ut supra*, tomo xi, n. 61, 62, 63; v. Plate IX.

[15] *Idem*, n. 40 e 66; cfr. pure n. 70.

[16] Tomo xii e xiii delle scritture dello stesso Archivio.

LA FONDAZIONE DEL *REGNUM SICILIAE* NELLA VERSIONE DI ALESSANDRO DI TELESE

Quasi tutti gli storici[1] riportano la fondazione del *Regnum Siciliae* alla bolla dell'antipapa Anacleto II, emanata a Benevento il 27 settembre 1130.[2] Benché la bolla sia a noi pervenuta soltanto nella redazione di una raccolta di manoscritti vaticani del secolo XIV,[3] non vi è motivo di dubitare della sua autenticità, tanto più che di essa si ha notizia anche dalla cronaca coeva di Falcone di Benevento.[4] La concessione, la donazione e l'autorizzazione da parte di Anacleto a Ruggero II del Regno di Sicilia, di Calabria e di Puglia (elevazione a *Regno* di territori già appartenenti alla famiglia degli Altavilla e prima distinti nel ducato di Puglia, con l'annesso principato di Salerno, e nella contea di Calabria e Sicilia), nonché del Principato di Capua, dell'*Honor* di Napoli e dell'*auxilium* degli uomini di Benevento, con l'esplicita menzione della Sicilia come capitale del Regno, sanciscono la dipendenza vassallatica del nuovo re e dei suoi successori dalla Chiesa di Roma, ai cui pontefici essi son dovuti a prestare omaggio e a giurare fedeltà, con l'obbligo inoltre di pagare ogni anno 600 schifati.[5] La procedura, con la quale si giunge alla fondazione del Regno, non è nuova e s'inquadra perfettamente nella concezione dei rapporti feudo-vassallatici, consolidati, se non instaurati, dai Normanni nell'Italia meridionale fin dal secolo precedente e risponde da un lato alle direttive politiche seguite dagli Altavilla e segnatamente da Roberto il Guiscardo fin dal 1059, dall'altro al senso della legalità, così vivo in Ruggero II, che con tanta insistenza qualche anno prima, pur accampando diritti di varia natura,[6] aveva pregato il papa Onorio II di concedergli in feudo il ducato di Puglia.[7] La successiva bolla d'Innocenzo II (27 luglio 1139), di concessione e di conferma a Ruggero II e ai suoi eredi del *Regnum Sicilie*, del *ducatum Apulie* e del *principatum Capuanum*, a condizione che i re di Sicilia prestassero ai pontefici romani il *ligium homagium* e pagassero ogni anno un censo di seicento schifati,[8] presenta qualche novità—rispetto alla bolla di Anacleto—nella più precisa distinzione territoriale in *Regnum Sicilie* (un'espressione di carattere generale, nella quale non si può del tutto escludere una qualche allusione al nucleo originario—nella sua base territoriale—della nuova monarchia normanna), in *Ducatum Apulie* e in *Principatum Capuanum*, che crea, nell'unità della concessione, distinti *nexus iuris*,[9] nonché nella richiesta del *ligium homagium*, che può ben essere una semplice reminiscenza del nuovo formulario feudale normanno,[10] ma può anche indicare, con la dichiarata priorità rispetto ad altri eventuali *omaggi*, una certa riserva di fronte ai diritti imperiali sull'Italia meridionale, riaffermati qualche anno prima e oggetto di disputa fra il papa e l'imperatore nella concessione del ducato di Puglia a Rainulfo di Alife, fatta sia da Innocenzo II che da Lotario II. Ora quella bolla, anziché essere un atto eversore del passato, legalizzava semplicemente, col crisma dell'autorità dell'unico papa, riconosciuto dall'intera Cristianità d'Occidente alla morte di Anacleto II, una situazione di fatto, la cui labilità giuridica dipendeva solo dalla discutibilità di un atto di nascita dovuto ad un antipapa, che dava un senso d'incertezza e di precarietà ai vincoli feudo-vassallatici del nuovo regno con la Chiesa Romana. Ma proprio da quel momento (27 luglio 1139), risolto il particolare problema dell'ordinamento costituzionale del Regno in piena indipendenza dall'Impero,[11] veniva posto, con più viva insistenza, e in termini di rinnovantesi dissidio con la Curia pontificia, il problema della *potestas* del re di Sicilia, la cui sovranità era in qualche modo viziata da quell'investitura feudale. La Chiesa Romana non volle mai rinunziare all'alta sovranità feudale sul regno di Sicilia, la cui indipendenza invece venne presto affermata dai canonisti con l'elaborazione della teoria del *rex in regno suo*,[12] che poteva essere riferita, sottilizzando, anche al re di Sicilia. Sottilizzando e discutendo molto, però: tanto che Marino da Caramanico ne faceva ancora materia di dissertazione nel secolo successivo nel suo proemio al *Liber Constitutionum* di Federico II.[13]

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[1] Cfr., per tutti, E. Pontieri, *Tra i Normanni nell'Italia meridionale*, Napoli, 1948, p. 205, e W. Holtzmann, 'Imperium und Nationen,' *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze storiche* (Roma, 4–11 settembre 1955), iii (Storia del Medioevo), Firenze, 1955, p. 298. Contra, v. G. Volpe, 'Albori della nazione italiana,' nel vol. *Momenti di storia italiana*, Firenze, 1925, p. 20: '. . . dopo assunto da sé titolo regio, ‘‘contro il Vicario di Dio e contro Cesare,’’ dice S. Bernardo, Ruggero Normanno è proclamato Re nel duomo di Palermo'; bisogna tener presente, tuttavia, che S. Bernardo, alla cui tradizione sembra si attenga il Volpe, era seguace del papa Innocenzo II e non poteva perciò riconoscere gli atti comunque riferentisi alla persona dell'antipapa Anacleto.

[2] Cfr. P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*², i, n. 8411.

[3] Cfr. P. Kehr, *Die Belehnungen der suditalienischen Normannenfürsten*, Berlin, 1934, p. 5.

[4] Falcone di Benevento, *Chronicon*, in G. Del Re, *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni*, i, Napoli, 1845, p. 201.

[5] Jaffé, *l. c.*: 'Rogerio ‘‘concedi tet donat et auctorizat coronam regni Siciliae et Calabriae et Apuliae’’, preterea ‘‘principatum Capuanum, honorem quoque Neapolis et auxilium hominum Beneventi’’. ‘‘Siciliam caput regni constituit’’. Decernit, ut rex et eius heredes ‘‘per manus archiepiscoporum terrae suae, quos voluerint, in reges inungantur et coronentur’’. Archiepiscopo Panormitano tribuit ius consecrandi Syracusanum, Agrigentinum et Mazariensem et Catanensem episcopos. Quae omnia concedit ea lege, ut reges sibi suisque successoribus ‘‘homagium et fidelitatem iurent et sexcentos schifatos annis singulis Romanae ecclesiae persolvant’’.'

[6] Cfr. M. Fuiano, 'Napoli dalla fine dello Stato autonomo alla sua elevazione a capitale del ‘‘Regnum Siciliae,’’ capp. i e ii, *Arch. stor. Napol.*, N.S., xxxv, 1955, pp. 3–8 del estratto.

[7] Falcone, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 199–200; Alessandro di Telese, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Siciliae regis*, in Del Re, *cit.*, pp. 93–96.

Tuttavia altri cronisti non fanno alcun cenno della bolla di Anacleto II. Romualdo di Salerno,[14] parlando dell'elevazione di Ruggero II alla dignità regale, dice: 'Postmodum baronum et populi consilio apud Panormum (Rogerius) se in regem inungi et coronari fecit.' Non solo; il cronista salernitano sembra addirittura negare l'esistenza della bolla, perché egli in seguito, nel parlare dell'antipapa Anacleto, aggiunge: 'Qui (Anacletus) quum per nuncios suos prefatum Regem sepe rogasset, ut cum eo haberet colloquium, et eidem de more hominium faceret, ipse, utpote vir astutus, et sapiens, et precavens in futurum, ab eius se colloquio et aspectu subtraxit.' La testimonianza di Romualdo di Salerno, come abbiamo altrove congetturato,[15] può anche essere intesa nel senso di accettazione della tradizione ufficiale della Curia pontificia, che, attenendosi unicamente agli atti dei pontefici eletti secondo i canoni (*canonice intrantes*), non poteva dare alcun valore legale alla bolla di Anacleto e doveva anzi insistere sull'imperfezione dell'elezione di Ruggero a re, per mettere maggiormente in rilievo la regolare concessione della dignità regale da parte di Innocenzo II nel 1139. L'accenno al tentativo di Anacleto di farsi prestare l'omaggio da Ruggero e all'elusiva condotta del nuovo re può anche essere inquadrato nella polemica antianacletiana, naturale in chi, pur scrivendo parecchi anni dopo, si atteneva alla tradizione ufficiale della Curia pontificia ed era quindi portato a far risaltare tutte le ombre nell'attività dei pontefici non accolti nella tradizione canonica. L'astuzia di Ruggero sarebbe consistita, eventualmente, più che nel tentativo di non prestare un omaggio, che sanciva la sua dipendenza vassallatica, nel non voler prestare l'omaggio ad un antipapa, al quale il suo *hominium* avrebbe accresciuto, con quell'implicito riconoscimento, autorità e prestigio in campo internazionale, oltre che presso i fedeli del Regno, tutt'altro che concordi nell'accettarlo come legittimo pontefice. Ma l'atto (la prestazione dell'omaggio), in sé, avrebbe anche significato la definitiva rottura di ponti con Innocenzo II; e ciò non era certamente nelle intenzioni del re, anche secondo l'interpretazione romualdiana della politica di Ruggero II in quei frangenti.

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[8] Jaffé, *op. cit.*, n. 8043.

[9] Cfr. Kehr, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–43, e G. M. Monti, *Lo Stato normanno svevo*, Trani, 1945, p. 8.

[10] Cfr. C. Cahen, *Le régime féodal de l'Italie normande*, Paris, 1940, p. 43.

[11] Cfr. S. Mochi Onory, *Fonti canonistiche dell'idea moderna dello Stato*, Milano, 1951, pp. 13–16.

[12] F. von Schulte, *Die Summa des Stephanus Tornacensis über das Decretum Gratiani*, Giessen, 1891, p. 12. Cfr. Mochi Onory, *op. cit.*, p. 6 sgg.; v. anche F. Calasso, *I glossatori e la teoria della sovranità*^{2}, Milano, 1951, p. 26 sgg.

[13] Cfr. Calasso, *op. cit.*, appendice, p. 193: 'Sed, qua fronte diximus regem Sicilie liberum, cum ab ecclesia romana regnum in feudum teneat, nonne igitur subest pape, qui videtur superior dominus utpote dominus feudi, et sic forsan crederet aliquis predicta omnia esse in domino rege nostro Sicilie peregrina? Ad quod dicimus quod sedes apostolica, cum regali fastigio honoraverit dominum nostrum regem Sicilie conferendo regnum predictum, voluit omnes regni subditos in omnibus ei subdi, secundum quod est proprium premium regie dignitatis, ut arg. in Aut. . . .'

[14] *Chronicon*, in *RR.II.SS.*^{2}, vii (1), 3, ed. Garufi, p. 217.

Molto più importante, anche perché contemporanea allo svolgersi degli avvenimenti, che determinarono la *promotio* alla dignità regale di Ruggero II, è la testimonianza di Alessandro di Telese, certamente ben informato sul corso degli eventi succedutisi nell'Italia meridionale dal 1127 al 1135.[16] E' vero che egli non si propose di narrare diffusamente quegli avvenimenti, ma solo per grandi linee, con un intento moraleggiante, che esclude l'insistenza sui particolari, dai quali egli più di una volta dice di essersi astenuto, quasi facendosi un rimprovero allorché aveva l'impressione di essere uscito un po' fuori del seminato o di essersi dilungato in digressioni;[17] ma un evento di quel genere—l'emanazione della bolla di Anacleto II—era troppo importante perché non dovesse essergli noto o perché non gli dovesse parer degno di menzione. A questo proposito, si è già cercato di confutare altrove[18] l'opinione dello Chalandon, che Alessandro cioè non ne facesse alcun cenno per adulare il re Ruggero, al quale evidentemente non doveva garbare il ricordo di quella concessione papale, che suonava limite alla sua sovranità, e si è congetturato che l'abate telesino, nella drammatica situazione creatasi con la contemporanea e controversa assunzione al pontificato di Anacleto II e di Innocenzo II, avesse ritenuto opportuno non prendere posizione né per l'uno né per l'altro papa, nell'attesa di una soluzione dell'annosa questione; e certamente, su di un piano generale, l'ipotesi non è affatto assurda.

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[15] *Napoli dalla fine dello Stato autonomo*, p. 10. Cfr., a tal proposito, E. M. Jamison, 'The Norman administration of Apulia and Capua, more especially under Roger II and William I, 1127–1166,' *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vi, 1913, p. 245. Il passo citato di Romualdo è in *RR.II.SS.*^{2}, vii (i), 3, *cit.*, p. 220.

[16] Alessandro di Telese scrisse il *De rebus gestis Rogerii Siciliae regis*, più che per suggerimento della sorella del re, la contessa Matilde, moglie di Rainulfo di Alife, alla quale aveva opposto un rifiuto, per obbedire a un intimo bisogno del suo spirito, perché, ripensandovi, gli parve che ciò che da lei veniva chiesto *futuris temporibus . . . indubitanter profuturum non deesse* (p. 88), quasi certamente fra il 1135 e il 1137, non solo perché la sua narrazione si arresta al 1135, ma perché da tutto il contesto non si ricava la minima impressione di una conoscenza di avvenimenti posteriori a quella data: fra i quali, importantissimo, la concessione della dignità ducale a Rainulfo di Alife da parte di Innocenzo II e di Lotario II.

[17] Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 94, 120.

[18] *Napoli dalla fine dello Stato autonomo*, pp. 10, 40–41.

Non è tuttavia improbabile che la concessione della dignità regale a Ruggero II da parte di Anacleto non abbia avuto nella fondazione della monarchia normanna di Sicilia la funzione capitale, che le è stata assegnata anche dagli storici più recenti. Se si prescinde dal silenzio di Alessandro di Telese e dagli elusivi accenni di Romualdo di Salerno, resta a dare esca al dubbio la teoria della sovranità, quale venne in seguito elaborata dai canonisti e come ebbe una prima, netta affermazione di principio, con riferimento alla persona di Ruggero II, nel prologo delle Assise di Ariano.[19] Sia nei canonisti che nel suddetto prologo la sovranità del re non ha limiti di sorta, non è vincolata da nessuna forma di dipendenza vassallatica. Il re di Sicilia, nonostante la recente prestazione dell'omaggio e del giuramento di fedeltà al papa a Mignano (1139) e l'ombra che in conseguenza aduggia il concetto della sovranità a lui spettante e di cui vi è traccia nel secolo successivo nella citata dissertazione di Marino da Caramanico, si considera, non solo di fatto, come un vero 'imperator' 'in regno suo' nel citato prologo delle Assise di Ariano. Qui egli riconosce unicamente in Dio la fonte della sua sovranità, che pertanto si riveste degli attributi sacri della regalità (*quoddam sacerdotii vendicat privilegium*), in una concezione, che dipende verosimilmente in gran parte dalla tradizione giustinianeo-bizantina,[20] ma che ha già una sua prima formulazione in alcuni scrittori dei primi anni del secolo XII.[21] Ordunque l'inesattezza (Falcone afferma che la bolla venne scritta ad Avellino) e l'indecisione o il silenzio dei principali cronisti normanni c'inducono a credere, contrariamente a quanto opina la Jamison,[22] che ora Ruggero II, anziché tenerci vivamente a legalizzare una situazione di fatto, come era accaduto due anni prima quando aveva ripetutamente chiesto ad Onorio II la concessione della dignità ducale, per vari motivi tollerasse più che non richiedesse la sanzione papale alla splendida creazione del suo genio politico. Probabilmente non tanto motivi di politica interna quanto di politica estera, principalmente la concomitante minaccia dell'impero d'Occidente e dell'impero d'Oriente, lo spingevano a cercare una più sicura garanzia di legalismo e una più solida alleanza nell'appoggio della Curia pontificia, ad entrare cautamente nel gioco delle forze che in essa si contrastavano, a servirsene nella maniera migliore e nel momento più opportuno, e naturalmente a tollerare sia nel 1130 che nel 1139 (quando si riconciliò con Innocenzo II) quella dipendenza vassallatica del suo regno dalla Santa Sede, che nella sua intenzione, come in quella dei suoi successori, doveva essere più fittizia che reale.

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[19] Cfr. G. M. Monti, *Il testo e la storia esterna delle Assise normanne*, Milano, pp. 19–20.

[20] Cfr. G. Ferrari delle Spade, 'Infiltrazioni occidentali nel diritto greco italico della monarchia normanna,' *Rivista di Storia del diritto italiano*, xii, 1939, pp. 28–30, e A. Marongiu, 'Lo spirito della monarchia normanna di Sicilia nell'Allocuzione di Ruggero II ai suoi Grandi,' *Arch. stor. sicil.*, 3ª serie, iv, 415–431; v. anche H. Niese, *Die Gesetzgebung der normannischen Dynastie im Regnum Siciliae*, Halle, 1910, p. 49.

[21] Cfr., p.e., *De consacratione pontificum et regum*, in *M. G. H.*, *Libelli de lite imper. et pont.*, iii, 667: '. . . Habent tamen rex et sacerdos communia quedam privilegiorum karismata . . . .'

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 245. L'insigne medievista inglese dà scarsa importanza alle relazioni di Alessandro di Telese e di Romualdo di Salerno, che avrebbero voluto 'emphasise the national aspect of the change,' e, ferma nell'opinione della costituzione della monarchia normanna di Sicilia sulla base della bolla di Anacleto, ritiene pressoché una finzione, 'a show of consulting,' l'assemblea dei magnati normanni a Salerno, di cui parla il Telesino e a cui può referirsi, nella sua indeterminatezza, anche l'accenno, già citato, di Romualdo di Salerno. E' inutile ripetere che noi siamo di parere diverso.

Il racconto di Alessandro di Telese, finora forse un po' troppo trascurato dagli storici, nonostante il credito accordatogli dal Muratori,[23] ci permette di ricostruire con alquanta verosimiglianza la trama degli avvenimenti, che portarono alla fondazione del Regno di Sicilia, e soprattutto di conoscere più profondamente i motivi di rinnovamento culturale e religioso, che si ripercuotevano con immediatezza di riflessi negli ambienti più o meno colti dell'Italia meridionale e, in particolare, nel monastero di Montecassino e negli altri cenobi benedettini, fra i quali, certamente non ultimo, era il monastero di S. Salvatore di Telese, di cui era abate il nostro storico.

Anche qui si notavano fin dal secolo precedente i vividi fermenti, che arricchivano di nuova linfa la spiritualità dell'Occidente latino e davano un impulso vigoroso alla creazione di una più salda coscienza religiosa e di un mondo economico-sociale, ricco di prospettive più ariose, e sensibile, molto più che nel passato, agli aneliti di miglioramento delle classi più umili. In particolare, e in sede più propriamente culturale, all'imitazione fedele dei classici (autori antichi e medioevali, considerati degni di imitazione senza sostanziale differenza) si sostituiva, come ha felicemente asserito l'Holtzmann,[24] un anelito creativo, che doveva gagliardamente maturare nel secolo successivo e costituire le fondamenta di quella rinascenza della latinità e della cultura medioevale, che così vividi riverberi doveva gettare su alcuni paesi dell'Europa occidentale, e specialmente sulla Francia. L'Italia concorreva alla formazione della nuova cultura con la rifioritura degli studi di diritto romano e, lungi dall'essere avulsa dalle correnti ideali, che scuotevano le anime e creavano una diversa e più temprata sensibilità morale, ne era partecipe e, talvolta, antesignana, anche nelle regioni meridionali della penisola: basta ricordare, a tal proposito, i fermenti ereticali rilevati nell'insegnamento di Lorenzo di Amalfi,[25] la calda umanità e la chiara presa di posizione di Alfano I, arcivescovo di Salerno, nelle polemiche religiose dell'epoca,[26] la diffusione, se non addirittura l'elaborazione, fra i Normanni di Aversa e di Puglia della Chanson de Roland, per comprendere come anche l'Italia meridionale, prima ancora che la Crociata imprimesse un impulso più vigoroso ad ogni sorta di attività e aprisse nuove vie all'audacia dei mercanti e alla prepotente vitalità dell'Occidente cristiano, fosse partecipe di quel moto rinnovatore, che in varia misura scuoteva l'Europa fin dagli albori del secolo. Quando leggiamo le opere di Amato di Montecassino, di Goffredo Malaterra e di Guglielmo di Puglia sentiamo l'incalzare di questo mondo nuovo, pur nella diversità dei suoi accenti, e ne ricerchiamo le cause, in genere, in influssi di cultura provenienti dalla Francia o dalla Normandia. Ora non vi è alcun dubbio sulla esistenza di questi influssi; tuttavia essi non erano considerati come prodotti di una diversa spiritualità, ma come elementi di quella specie d'internazionale della cultura, che, fondata sull'unità della fede, non conosceva barriere nazionali, ma solo normali vie di scambio non sottoposte ad alcuna limitazione od impedimento, che non fossero guerre od altre calamità. Questi elementi inoltre non cadevano, a guisa di seme, in un terreno vergine, ma s'innestavano con maggiore o minore consapevolezza in una tradizione di cultura, che in qualche centro, come a Napoli, aveva già avuto un vivido rigoglio e in altri, come a Montecassino, rifioriva proprio nella seconda metà di quel secolo XI; senza parlare delle scienze mediche, che già davano a Salerno una rinomanza europea.

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[23] Cfr. la prefazione al *De rebus ecc.*, in *RR.II.SS.*, v, 609.

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 287.

[25] Cfr. W. Holtzmann, 'Laurentius von Amalfi, ein Lehrer von Hildebrand,' in *Studi Gregoriani*, 1947, i, pp. 207–218.

[26] Cfr. M. Fuiano, 'Alfano I arcivescovo di Salerno, innografo di S. Matteo,' *Atti dell'Accademia di scienze morali e politiche della Società Nazionale di scienze, lettere ed arti in Napoli*, lxv (1955), p. 3 sgg. dell'estratto.

Ora, proprio nel tempo in cui Irnerio fondava a Bologna la scuola di diritto romano, che avrebbe dato un fondamento giuridico al sacro romano impero del medio evo, la Curia romana era spinta a portare alle estreme conseguenze, nello ardore delle lotte giurisdizionali, le premesse delle sue tendenze al governo teocratico del mondo e ad affrettare il disgregamento dell'autorità imperiale con l'accentuazione dei principi di nazionalità, dando un primo, indiretto incremento alla parallela fioritura del diritto canonico, chiamato esso pure a discutere sulle fonti e sui limiti dell'*auctoritas* o della *potestas* di papi e vescovi, imperatori e re.

Come altrove, nell'Italia meridionale non potevano mancare le discussioni sulle fonti della sovranità e sulla sua essenza: tanto più che una situazione politica, che era stata fino a quel tempo estremamente fluida ma che era ormai in via di definitivo assestamento, doveva necessariamente richiamare gli spiriti alla necessità di una sua definizione il più possibile chiara e precisa. Vi era sì, da un lato, la predominante concezione sempre più decisamente teocratica del papato, che, pur considerando i re soggetti *non ut servos, sed ut filios,*[27] tendeva a inquadrare secondo i nuovi presupposti ideali (nuovi, ma attingenti forse largamente in afflato spirituale alla regola di S. Benedetto[28]) i rapporti feudali, coi quali la Curia pontificia intendeva legare a sé più strettamente i nuovi signori delle terre dell'Italia meridionale e della Sicilia. D'altra parte questa concezione teocratica trovava contrasti, anche parecchi anni dopo la morte di Gregorio VII, in vari ambienti religiosi, oltre che laici, e certamente, nel decennio fra il 1130 e il 1140, fra i monaci cassinesi.[29] Sicché non fa meraviglia che si giungesse, in forma autonoma, ad una teoria della sovranità non legata agli schemi della Curia pontificia e affondante le radici nelle esperienze culturali contemporanee e nei ricordi biblici, così da porre, sia pure empiricamente, le basi alla delineazione della figura del re-sacerdote, cui si perveniva anche, come si è accennato, sulla falsa riga delle dottrine elaborate a Bisanzio, e quale sarà tratteggiata nel prologo delle Assise di Ariano. Ora, se riusciamo per qualche momento a distrarre la nostra mente dalle pretese feudali della Curia pontificia sul Regno di Sicilia, così chiaramente del resto espresse nelle due bolle emanate sia da Anacleto II che da Innocenzo II per la fondazione di quel regno e nel concordato di Benevento del 1156 fra il papa Adriano IV e Guglielmo I, potremo forse dimostrare l'esistenza di una certa interdipendenza tra la situazione politica e l'atmosfera culturale, in cui si muove agilmente Alessandro di Telese, e l'ispirazione ieratica della sovranità del prologo delle predette Assise.

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[27] *Gregorii VII papae registrum*, in *M. G. H. Epist. sel.*, ed. Caspar, ii, 218.

[28] Almeno secondo l'interpretazione, che, con adattamento ai tempi, era stata data fin dai primordi della feudalità da Paolo Diacono; cfr. F. L. Ganshof, 'L'origine des rapports féodo-vassaliques,' nel vol. *I problemi della civiltà carolingia*, Spoleto, 1954, p. 36.

[29] Cfr. Fuiano, *Napoli dalla fine dello Stato autonomo*, pp. 12, 40–42.

Forse non è inopportuno, prima di additare gli elementi costitutivi della nuova atmosfera culturale e religiosa che agiscono in senso positivo sulla formazione della nuova mentalità, accennare rapidamente a certe incongruenze, più o meno volontarie, nella pratica feudale e a qualche persistenza di antiche usanze normanne. Basta, per rendersene conto, seguire l'attività politica e diplomatica svolta da Ruggero II dalla morte del duca di Puglia, Guglielmo, avvenuta nel 1127, alla sua incoronazione a re di Sicilia.

Ruggero, pur facendo una politica di potenza, tende a muoversi fin da allora sul piano della legalità;[30] ma si tratta di una legalità particolare, mirante cioé a giustificare in ogni modo le sue pretese territoriali e le sue conquiste. Per questo motivo, nell'avanzare le sue pretese alla successione nel ducato di Puglia, egli si attiene alle consuetudini longobarde, che permettevano una possibilità di successione nell'ambito della *domus*; più di una volta infatti egli sostiene che il Ducato di Puglia, che, estinta la discendenza diretta di Roberto il Guiscardo, doveva legittimamente ritornare in possesso della Chiesa Romana, perché questa ne disponesse a suo piacimento, spettava a lui *generis successione*,[31] *iure generis*.[32] Una specie di compromesso venne invece adottato successivamente, nella cerimonia dell'investitura del Ducato di Puglia a Ruggero da parte di Onorio II presso Benevento.[33] Anziché seguire le consuetudini del diritto feudale franco e compiere la cerimonia in tre momenti, contrassegnati dalla prestazione dell'omaggio, dalla promessa di fedeltà, corroborata dal giuramento sulle cose sacre o sulle reliquie, e infine dall'investitura del feudo, oppure le consuetudini longobarde, che prescrivevano prima l'investitura e poi la promessa di fedeltà, ignorando l'omaggio, ora Ruggero compie prima gli atti inerenti all'*hominium*, quindi riceve l'investitura del ducato, e solo in ultimo pronunzia il giuramento di fedeltà. Si tratta di una specie di compromesso, come si diceva, tra le consuetudini feudali franco-normanne, seguite in genere dalla Curia pontificia fin dal secolo precedente, e le consuetudini longobarde, che davano in fondo un diverso valore ai vari elementi costitutivi dei rapporti feudo-vassallatici, ponendo in maggior rilievo il beneficio e mettendo in secondo piano la dipendenza personale. Non era dunque una cosa di scarsa importanza e non ci tratterremmo a mettere in rilievo l'ibridismo di questa procedura, se non pensassimo che Alessandro di Telese, che la descrive minutamente e che in precedenza pone nel debito rilievo la richiesta di priorità della prestazione dell'omaggio, posta quasi come condizione da Onorio II, conosceva bene il significato da attribuire all'ordine, col quale dovevano essere eseguiti i vari atti di quella cerimonia. Ora, se è vero in genere che l'elemento fondamentale per stabilire la dipendenza vassallatica nelle consuetudini feudali franche è l'*hominium*[34] e che in esse la promessa e il giuramento di fedeltà, pur essendone il completamento, restano un elemento accessorio, è evidente che sia nel diritto longobardo sia nelle consuetudini allora vigenti nell'Italia meridionale il giuramento o la promessa di fedeltà hanno un valore più sostanziale e naturalmente più impegnativo, perché qui essi si sostituiscono in qualche modo all'*hominium* nella creazione dei vincoli di dipendenza personale ed anziché limitarsi ad una funzione meramente negativa, come nel diritto feudale franco,[35] divengono talvolta un elemento positivo, con carattere di reciprocità, nelle obbligazioni vassallatiche.[36] Può darsi benissimo che le perplessità rilevate nell'uso delle formule di diritto successorio e nella creazione dei rapporti feudo-vassallatici nascondano determinati fini politici, perché esse tornano in ogni caso a vantaggio di Ruggero II, per il quale probabilmente l'*hominium* prestato ad Onorio II acquista un valore preciso di subordinazione feudale solo col giuramento di fedeltà da lui fatto dopo l'investitura del Ducato, che lo condiziona: specialmente se si considera che a Ruggero e ai Normanni erano senza dubbio molto più familiari le consuetudini feudali franche, da essi diffuse fin dai primi momenti della conquista nell'Italia meridionale. Ma nel processo di fusione dei dominatori con la nobiltà locale, che, pur lasciando un rilevante margine di superiorità ai Normanni, era stato iniziato da parecchio tempo ed era stato, si può dire, uno dei cardini della politica interna di Ruggero Borsa e del figlio Guglielmo, si doveva effettivamente produrre una certa confusione fra le norme del diritto o dei diritti vigenti, specialmente prima che si compisse l'unificazione di tutte le terre del Meridione sotto la dominazione di Ruggero II. Come si è accennato altrove,[37] la presenza dei *probatiores viri* nel ristretto consiglio tenuto da Ruggero II presso Salerno, perché si pronunziasse sulla ventilata proposta della *promotio* di Ruggero alla dignità regia, testimonia anche l'apporto di esperienze di cultura giuridica più attinente all'ambiente longobardo che a quello franco-normanno nei consigli e nelle deliberazioni del nuovo duca di Puglia. Probabilmente la necessità di un abbozzo di legislazione unitaria, soprattutto se si pensi che a Ruggero erano assoggettate popolazioni rette anche col diritto bizantino o secondo le costumanze mussulmane, dové cominciare a farsi sentire fin d'allora, anche se essa divenne più urgente negli anni immediatamente successivi al rassodamento delle varie contese e al consolidamento del Regno.

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[30] Cfr. Fuiano, *art. cit.*, p. 3 sgg.

[31] Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[32] Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 95.

[33] Cfr. Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, p. 96: 'Apostolicus (Honorius) vero . . . ad Rogerium clam festinanter praemisit, pollicens illi Ducatum annuendum, ita tamen ut prius Beneventum petens, suum ei ibi hominium subderet, sicque postea ipsum a se Ducatum ex more acciperet . . . . Post diem vero tertium praefatus Pontifex ab eo (Rogerio) accitus paullulum ab urbe progreditur, ipsiusque, ut moris est, hominio suscepto, cum vexillo Ducale ei tradidit regimen. At Rogerius Apostolica roboratione Dux constitutus, secundum quod inter se jam propositum fuerat, sacramentum ei fidelitatis per omnia servandum exhibuit: quibus peractis Papa ad palatium revertitur.' Falcone di Benevento, *op. cit.*, p. 200, non fa cenno dell'*hominium*, ma dà la precedenza, nella descrizione della cerimonia, all'investitura sul giuramento: ' . . . ideo praedictus Apostolicus foris . . . ad praedictum Pontem exivit, et Ducatus ei tribuit honorem, et Ducatu accepto Dux ille sacramento juravit non esse in facto, vel consensu, ut B. Petrus, et Dominus Papa Honorius, ejusque successores catholici civitatem Beneventanam perdant, et Principatum Capuanum non capiat, vel permittat ad capiendum'; si tratta certamente del giuramento di fedeltà, anche se esso, secondo gl'interessi politici di Falcone, viene più distintamente precisato nei riguardi di territori presumibilmente contesi. Romualdo di Salerno, *op. cit.*, p. 216, descrive la cerimonia d'investitura secondo le consuetudini franche, ma il suo racconto è di molto posteriore agli avvenimenti e merita quindi minor fede.

Accanto all'ibridismo, se non alla confusione delle consuetudini feudali franche e longobarde, vi erano anche delle persistenze di carattere elettivo, di origine normanna e, in genere, germanica, nel conferimento delle dignità comitali, o delle dignità, in senso assoluto. E' noto che l'atavica uguaglianza dei Vichinghi, di cui vi è ancora traccia nelle prime fasi delle campagne dei contingenti normanni venuti in Italia dopo il 1030, era stata ben presto limitata, se non distrutta, dalla preminenza assunta prima da Guglielmo Braccio di Ferro e poi dai suoi fratelli Drogone e Unfredo: per non dire di Roberto il Guiscardo, che si era visto riconoscere tale sua posizione sui Normanni di Puglia e Calabria con l'investitura ducale accordatagli dal papa Niccolò II nel 1059. Successivamente il potere del nuovo duca di Puglia e poi quello del fratello Ruggero, conte di Sicilia e Calabria, come quello di Riccardo, principe di Capua, si era consolidato. Pareva che, malgrado le frequenti ribellioni al Guiscardo dei vari conti, chiamati così *a plebe*, come dice Guglielmo di Puglia, che li contrappone al duca, che aveva invece ricevuto l'investitura pontificia,[38] di quell'antica uguaglianza non dovesse rimanere alcuna traccia. Senonché, o per un rigurgito di essa nel generale indebolimento del potere dei duchi di Puglia e dei principi di Capua dopo la morte di Roberto il Guiscardo e di Riccardo di Capua, o per l'istintiva tendenza alla legalità riscontrata ripetutamente in Ruggero II, non è improbabile che essa, sia pur di molto diluita, affiorasse in quei particolari consigli, che anche a distanza di anni furono tenuti da Ruggero II e dalla reggente Margherita per il figlio Guglielmo II. Vi è però da aggiungere che essi furono tenuti alla guisa di precedenti assemblee germaniche per il riconoscimento, non per l'elezione, dei re di Germania ed ebbero, più che altro, il compito di dare il *consilium*, alla maniera feudale, e, nel caso, di riconoscere il nuovo re. Di tal genere sono appunto il consiglio ristretto convocato da Ruggero II presso Salerno, con la partecipazione di alcune ragguardevoli personalità laiche ed ecclesiastiche per discutere, come si è ricordato, sull'eventualità della sua assunzione a re di Sicilia, e il consiglio grande tenuto a Palermo prima della cerimonia dell'incoronazione non certamente per discutere ancora (tutto era già pronto per l'incoronazione), ma per il riconoscimento della dignità regale da parte dell'assemblea dei baroni e del popolo. Questa in verità non modificava una situazione di fatto, ma era evidentemente ritenuta necessaria; come è dimostrato della convocazione dell'assemblea dei baroni, che fu tenuta dopo la morte di Guglielmo I per il riconoscimento del nuovo re Guglielmo II,[39] che pure succedeva al padre *more francorum*.

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[34] Cfr. F. L. Ganshof, *Qu'est-ce que la Feodalité?*, Bruxelles, 1947, pp. 91–94; M. Bloch, *La società feudale*, trad. Cremonesi, Torino, 1953, pp. 236–239.

[35] Cfr. Ganshof, *L'origine des rapports féodo-vassaliques*, pp. 38–39.

[36] Cfr. Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–126: '. . . Comes (Ranulphus) prius precatur, ut ex corde (Rogerius) indignationem funditus abjiceret. Cui Rex ex corde, inquit, abjicio. Et ille: volo iterum, ut sicut deinceps tibi famulatus fuero, ita me diligas. Cui ille: et ego concedo. Iterum ait: istarum sponsionum, quas alternatim fecimus, volo ut testis sit Deus inter me et te. At ille, ita, inquit, fiat . . . .'

[37] *Napoli dalla fine dello Stato autonomo*, p. 12.

A questi elementi preesistenti, in fase di laboriosa e indistinta trasformazione, si aggiunge, pallida eco di una nuova coscienza regionale, nella quale tendono a sommergersi i vecchi contrasti di nazionalità, la percezione della creazione di entità statali, nelle quali fanno da componenti da un lato il signore e dall'altro le popolazioni soggette; ma forse più queste che quello. Quando Alessandro di Telese,[40] parlando della spedizione militare di Rainulfo di Alife contro Ruggero II, usa termini come *Laborana expeditio*, *Laboranus exercitus*, forse non si accorge come egli con questa nuova denominazione—nuova, salvo errore—designi una realtà etnica nuova, nella quale non vi sono più Normanni o Aversani o Capuani, ma semplicemente *Laborani*, gli abitanti della Terra di Lavoro. L'idea di nazione non si fonda naturalmente su presupposti di carattere territoriale; ma qui, sulla base di una convivenza ormai secolare degli indigeni coi Normanni, nella quale si sono di molto attenuati, se non sono spariti del tutto, gl'inevitabili contrasti etnici, il criterio di territorialità tende a divenire predominante, specialmente quando, pressoché unica la lingua, identica la religione, uguali i costumi, si crea anche un'unità economico-politica. D'altronde, poiché queste popolazioni non restano affatto insensibili al soffio di rinnovamento che pervade l'Europa nel secolo XI e nel secolo successivo, ed esse in fondo vivono nella terra classica del particolarismo locale, non si può escludere che in un terreno fertile alligni con una certa rapidità il seme delle nuove articolazioni regionali o nazionali, promosse con particolare favore dalla Curia pontificia fin dall'inizio della così detta lotta per le investiture.

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[38] *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, ii, ed. Wilmans in *M. G. H. SS.*, ix, 402–403, 447.

[39] Cfr. M. Fuiano, 'Ugo Falcando,' *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli*, iii, 1953, pp. 54–55 dell'estratto.

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

A una coscienza regionale nuova, che, considerata dall'esterno, poggia su di una base territoriale, non può non tener dietro, sugli stessi presupposti, una coscienza nazionale nuova, di abitante di un 'regno,' che trova la sua giustificazione nell'ampiezza dei territori soggetti ad un solo signore. L'idea del Regno matura in Ruggero e nei suoi consiglieri—o viceversa, secondo Alessandro di Telese—prima che Anacleto ne consacri il diritto in una bolla; l'abbiamo già detto. Ma essa nasce e si sviluppa nell'atmosfera di euforia, che circonda le conquiste territoriali di Ruggero, che vede per la prima volta unificati sotto il suo dominio la maggior parte dei territori caduti sotto la dominazione normanna, o a questa agganciati, come Napoli, per mezzo di patti precedenti. Non importa che essi sentano direttamente il peso della sua autorità; importa che i loro signori riconoscano in lui il loro signore feudale. La rete dei rapporti feudo-vassallatici s'infittisce, ma soprattutto si snoda con chiarezza dal basso in alto. Tutti i suoi contendenti, e fra di essi in particolar modo Rainulfo di Alife e Roberto di Capua, si sono a lui sottomessi. E allora Alessandro di Telese[41] racconta: 'Cum Dux Rogerius per omnia laetis potitus successibus, totas Boamundi terras, omnemque Ducatum in integrum potentissime obtinere videtur, necnon Capuanorum Princeps, Magisterque militum Neapolitanus, omnisque terra, quae erat usque poene fines Anconitanae urbis, bellorum cunctis contrarietatibus sopitis sibi subderentur, saepissima sibi ac familiari quorundam, maximeque Henrici Comitis avunculi sui, a quo plus aliis diligebatur, coepit suggeri collocutione, videlicet, ut ipse, qui tot provinciis Siciliae, Calabriae, Apuliae, caeterisque regionibus, quae poene Romam usque habentur, Domini cooperante, dominabatur, nequaquam uti Ducalis, sed Regii illustrari culminis honore deberet.' Dello stesso parere sono le personalità ragguardevoli da lui convocate presso Salerno; anch'esse ritengono, sulla base del criterio di territorialità, che Ruggero debba ottenere la dignità regale.[42]

Tuttavia, malgrado l'avallo di così illustri personalità (ecclesiastici, *peritissimi et competentiores personae*, principi, baroni e *probatiores viri*), si avverte—prima e durante il consiglio—che il concetto di territorialità non è sufficiente a giustificare la creazione di un regno. Residui di una mentalità, che non sa rompere del tutto i ponti col passato, o senso di disagio di fronte all'ardimento della proposta; così, se l'idea del regno può anche sembrare assurda se intesa come novità, nessuno farà obiezioni, se apparirà come una 'restitutio.' Il fondamento storico-giuridico del nuovo regno, ancorato a questo concetto, diventa più che mai saldo: soprattutto se si pensa ad una certa analogia, non importa quanto artificiosa, con la *restitutio imperii*, così viva nella coscienza cattolica medioevale. Ora l'idea della *restitutio regni Siciliae* si fa strada sia allorché si pensa per la prima volta alla costituzione del regno sia quando essa viene convalidata dal 'consilium' convocato da Ruggero presso Salerno.[43] Si tratta ovviamente di un assurdo richiamo ad un'inesistente realtà storica; ma se si pensa al modo favoloso con cui il Telesino parla della dominazione di Virgilio su Napoli,[44] non fa meraviglia che in lui o nei suoi contemporanei prendesse consistenza una notizia altrettanto fantastica come quella di un regno di Sicilia: salvo che egli, confondendo e alterando, non volesse alludere—cosa difficile ad ammettersi—a qualche particolare momento della dominazione saracena sull'isola.

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[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

[42] Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, p. 102: '. . . unanimiter tandem uno ore laudant, concedunt, decernunt, immo magnopere insistunt, ut Rogerius Dux in Regiam dignitatem apud Panormum Siciliae metropolim promoveri debeat, qui non tantum Siciliae paterna hereditate, verum etiam Calabriae, Apuliae, caeterarumque terrarum, quae non solum ab eo bellica obtinentur virtute, sed et propinquitate generis antecedentium Ducum jure sibi succedere debent.'

Considerata in questi termini, per quanto labili essi possano apparire, sia—ma molto meno di quanto noi non crediamo—rispetto alla coscienza storico-giuridica medioevale che alla nostra scaltrita sensibilità critica, la fondazione del *Regnum Siciliae* non appare in alcun modo vincolata ad un atto d'investitura, ma ha in sè stessa le ragioni della sua completa libertà e indipendenza. Nella riscontrata incertezza dei rapporti feudo-vassallatici, nel momento in cui la fonte stessa della signoria feudale sull'Italia meridionale e sulla Sicilia appariva indebolita e quasi inerte in conseguenza dello scisma della Chiesa Romana dopo la morte di Onorio II, la costituzione del Regno di Sicilia finì anche per apparire come una germinazione spontanea dalla caotica situazione che si era prodotta in queste regioni, cui occorreva un pugno di ferro, che ridesse tranquillità e sicurezza alle popolazioni e le amministrasse con un senso vivo e profondo della giustizia. Se il concetto di territorialità, con la constatazione della *dilatatio* del territorio soggetto a Ruggero, e l'idea della *restitutio* ne appaiono la giustificazione formale, necessità suprema e inderogabile della fondazione del Regno è ritenuto in verità il disordine vieppiù dilagante nella Italia meridionale, con particolare riferimento alla zona appulo-campana, nella quale i signorotti normanni e indigeni si abbandonano a soverchierie di ogni genere, pullulano i furti, le rapine, gli omicidi, non sono risparmiati neppure gli uomini di Chiesa, né i *peregrini pro Deo itinerantes*—allusione forse ai predicatori vaganti, ecclesiastici o laici, di cui parla il Grundmann,[45] la cui presenza sarebbe in tal caso attestata anche in queste regioni?—i contadini non possono più lavorare tranquillamente i loro campi.[46] La mente dello scrittore, impressionata dagli episodi di ladroneccio e di brigantaggio, che accadevano continuamente sotto i suoi occhi o da cui era danneggiato il suo stesso monastero,[47] si solleva per un momento da queste terrene contingenze e contempla come dall'alto lo svolgersi degli avvenimenti nell'Italia meridionale da un secolo a questa parte. E poiché a fondamento delle sue meditazioni sta il senso del peccato e dell'espiazione, con l'incrollabile fede nell'intervento della Divina Provvidenza, egli non fa certamente un grande sforzo per persuadersi che, come per disposizione o col permesso di Dio la malvagità dei Longobardi fu un tempo repressa dalla violenza dei Normanni, così ora è stato concesso o permesso da Dio a Ruggero di frenare con la sua spada l'immensa malizia di queste regioni.[48]

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[43] Cfr. Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–102: 'Qui etiam addebant, quod Regni ipsius principium, et caput Panormus Siciliae metropolis fieri deceret, quae olim sub priscis temporibus, super hanc ipsam provinciam Reges nonnullos habuisse traditur, quae postea, pluribus evolutis annis, occulto Dei disponente judicio nunc usque sine Regibus mansit . . . Nam si regni solium in eadem quondam civitate, ad regendum tantum Siciliam certum est extitisse, et nunc ad ipsum per longum tempus defecisse videtur, valde dignum, et justum est, ut in capite Rogerii diademate posito, regnum ipsum non solum ibi modo *restituatur*, sed in caeteras etiam regiones, quibus jam dominari cernitur, dilatari debeat.'

[44] *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

[45] 'Eresie e nuovi ordini religiosi nel secolo XII,' in *Relazioni del X Congresso internazionale di Scienze storiche* (Roma, 1955), iii, 377 sgg.

[46] Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–89: '. . . Quid enim tunc mali non in ipsis exercebatur? Quippe omni timore abjecto, caedes hominum, furta, rapinae, sacrilegia, adulteria, perjuria, necnon Ecclesiarum, monasteriorum oppressiones, virorum Dei contemptus pluraque his similia fieri non desinebant. Peregrinorum quoque pro Deo itinerantium alii praedabantur, alii vero, pro rebus eorum diripiendis, in abditis locis perimebantur . . . .'

All'uomo della divina provvidenza non vengono posti limiti umani di sovranità; ma se di una specie di dipendenza feudo-vassallatica si può parlare, questa riguarda solamente, *grosso modo*, i rapporti di Ruggero con Dio: 'Nam sicut condecet, ut quis tibi servitutis debitum solvat, ex iis, quae a te tenere videtur, ita te oportet, ut et tu domino Deo pro iis, quae tibi contulit, immo commisit, placitum ei exhibeas famulatum.'[49]

Si pensi ora come si voglia: che Alessandro di Telese abbia scritto per adulare Ruggero—ma non si dimentichi che in un primo momento aveva opposto un rifiuto reciso, come se si trattasse di lavoro per lui sconveniente, alla sorella di lui che lo aveva sollecitato a narrarne le imprese—o che invece, pur mostrandosi indulgente col re, del quale però non manca di mettere in rilievo la tracotanza o qualche spietato atto di crudeltà, abbia ritenuto di compiere, con indipendenza di giudizio, opera non inutile per i posteri, è certo che egli nella delineazione della figura astratta del re e nell'enumerazione dei suoi compiti risente in qualche modo l'influsso della concezione della regalità, che è tipicamente medioevale nella genericità dei motivi che la caratterizzano, e che tuttavia riaffiora con più precisa determinazione concettuale e con una certa dipendenza dalla concezione giustinianeo-bizantina della regalità—come si è già osservato—nel prologo delle Assise di Ariano. Non è improbabile che Alessandro di Telese fosse a conoscenza delle teorie sulla sovranità elaborate a Bisanzio e che ne risentisse in qualche modo l'influsso; si tenga presente che egli, nel dare suggerimenti a Ruggero sul reggimento del nuovo stato, si rifà ad esempi bizantini.[50] Tuttavia non è necessario giungere a questa ipotesi. In realtà, quando egli ammonisce il re di ricordarsi che è tale, *ut omnes sub ditione* ipsius *positi*, *et iustitiae censura*, *et pacis vinculo regantur*,[51] si muove perfettamente nell'orbita del pensiero cristiano nella sua elaborazione occidentale. Se possono esservi dei punti di contatto, dipende dal fatto che si attinge, in Oriente e in Occidente, almeno nei motivi fondamentali, ad una fonte comune, alla tradizione biblica, opportunamente adattata ai luoghi e ai tempi. Ma vi è qualcosa che distingue la sua concezione della sovranità. Maturata in ambiente ecclesiastico e con la mente ferma principalmente a Saul, a David e a Salomone, nonché a Sedeucia e a Nabucodonosor, essa è fortemente influenzata dall'idea tutta cristiana del peccato. Il re, pur nello spiegamento della sua sovranità, resta personalmente, *ratione peccandi*, in posizione di costante inferiorità rispetto al potere spirituale. Nessuna parola è detta in proposito, ma l'impressione che si riceve dalla lettura dell'opera, e in particolare dall'*Adloquium ad regem Rogerium*, non è fallace. E' questione ora non di una dottrina perfettamente elaborata, ma di uno stato d'animo, che ha i suoi addentellati profondi nella concezione cristiana della vita e del mondo, senza che possa escludersi, nella sua formazione, un certo influsso delle idee di recente bandite con novello vigore dalla Chiesa. Stando così le cose, importa insistere ancora sul valore della testimonianza di Alessandro di Telese per la comprensione del modo con cui si giunse alla fondazione della monarchia normanna nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia e dei motivi storico-culturali, che ne costituirono la base, anche indipendentemente dalle bolle di Anacleto II e d'Innocenzo II.

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[47] Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[48] Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[49] Alessandro di Telese, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–86.

[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

[51] *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

MICHELE FUIANO

THE BEGINNINGS OF MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION IN NORMAN SICILY

(Plates X–XIV)

WHEN Maio of Bari was assassinated at Palermo on 10 November 1160, a remarkable career was brought to a premature end. Maio, a commoner and a layman, had risen in the Sicilian *curia* to the rank of chancellor of the Norman kingdom under Roger II; William I had created him Grand Admiral immediately upon acceding to the throne in 1154.[1] William lacked the political acumen of his father, and left the administration of Sicily entirely in his minister's hands. Maio asserted the prerogative of the crown against the feudal nobility and the large towns, and successfully intervened in the affairs of the Italian peninsula at a time when the struggle between emperor and pope was at its height. His strong, harsh policy provoked inevitably the implacable hatred of the Sicilian barons, who resented his tyranny and envied his power. They accused him of boundless personal ambition, even of sinister designs on the throne, and in the end organised the plot which led to his murder.

The story of his lowly birth, his immorality and wanton cruelty, reported with relish by the chronicler Hugo Falcandus,[2] has been discredited by modern scholarship. Falcandus favoured the claims of the nobility, and did his best to blacken the reputation both of King William and of the all-powerful minister who executed the king's policy. Even Maio's enemies had to recognise his brilliant gifts. He was the son of a *protoiudex* of Bari, an eminently capable administrator, and a man of education. He was friendly with some of the leading scholars of the day: it was at Maio's suggestion that Henricus Aristippus translated Diogenes Laertius,[3] and it was to Maio that Cardinal Laborans dedicated one of his legal treatises.[4] Maio was even capable of writing a commentary on the Lord's Prayer, dedicated to his son Stephen, composed in correct and fluent Latin and showing a commendable familiarity with patristic and scholastic literature.[5]

The manuscript which included Maio's *Expositio Orationis Dominicae* was written in the late twelfth or thirteenth century, and belonged to the University Library of Turin;[6] it was destroyed in the fire of 1904. Although there were serious gaps in the text, its discoverer, O. Hartwig, who considered it unique, reprinted it in full in the appendix to his article on William I and Maio, published in 1883.[7]

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[1] On Maio *see* F. Giunta, *Bizantini e Bizantinismo nella Sicilia normanna*, Palermo, 1950, p. 110, where references to earlier literature will be found.

[2] On this chronicle, cf. G. Fasoli, *Chronache medievali di Sicilia*, Catania, 1950, with bibliography.

[3] Cf. O. Hartwig, 'Re Guglielmo I e il suo grande ammiraglio Maione di Bari,' *Archivio storico per le provincie Napoletane*, viii, 1883, p. 437 f.

[4] Cf. G. B. Siragusa, *Il Regno di Guglielmo I*, 2nd ed., Palermo, 1929, p. 316. On the illuminations in Cardinal Laborans' manuscript, cf. W. F. Volbach, 'Le Miniature nel Codice del Cardinale Laborante,' *La Bibliofilia*, xlii, 1940, p. 41 ff.

[5] Hartwig, *art. cit.*, p. 438.

[6] MS. MXX.k.III.3, fols. 94 ff.; cf. G. Pasini, *Codices manuscripti Bibl. Reg. Taurinensis*, Taurini, 1749, ii, p. 300; also Siragusa, *op. cit.*, p. 318, n. 1.

[7] Hartwig, *art. cit.*, p. 461 ff.

In 1897 the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris acquired another copy of this text (nouv. acq. latin 1772), so far unnoticed.[8] This manuscript is in every respect better than the lost copy of Turin. It preserves the text complete, and thus allows us to fill the gaps of the published version and correct a great number of minor mistakes in Hartwig's transcription. Moreover, it contains illuminations in a style of which no exact parallels are known.

The manuscript in Paris is a *de luxe* copy executed with care and taste. It is written in a beautiful hand in gold-powdered ink on parchment of good quality; there are two columns of writing to a page, leaving broad margins on all sides so that the lay-out of the text on the pages achieves an effect of distinction and beauty. The title is inserted in a full-page architectural frame, and there are illuminated initials at the beginning of the commentary to every passage of the Prayer. There can be little doubt that this is the original dedicatory copy of the *Expositio*, executed by Maio's order, and given by him to his son. As Maio is called Grand Admiral on the title-page, the manuscript may thus be dated between 1154, the year of his appointment to this office, and 1160, the year of his assassination. The palaeographical evidence also suggests a date about the middle of the century. The rounded character of the letters points to an Italian scribe, but the script does not help to localise more closely its origin. If it was the original copy of Maio's work, it was presumably written at Palermo. So far only very few Latin manuscripts of Sicilian origin dating from this early period are known,[9] and the distinctive characteristics of Sicilian hands still elude us. Moreover, none of these early manuscripts is illuminated. The artistic decorations of the Paris copy of the *Expositio* are therefore of special interest as they are the only examples of Sicilian illumination of the period just after the middle of the twelfth century.

The first page of the manuscript (Pl. X) contains the title: EXPOSITIO ORATIONIS DOMINICE EDITA A MAIONE MAGNO AMMIRATO AD STEPHANUM AMMIRATUM FILIUM SUUM, written in two columns of golden capital letters inside an arched frame—a distinct echo of the lay-out of Canon Tables in Gospel manuscripts. The arches, however, are merely superimposed on a full-page frontispiece of a type which exists in several twelfth century manuscripts of Greek patristic texts, and which must have been the Sicilian illuminator's main source of inspiration. Two examples are the title pages in a Gregory Nazianzen in Paris[10] and a John Climacus on Mount Sinai (Pl. XI, *a*).[11] It is true that here there are only two columns carrying a cusped arch, and instead of the ornamental writing they frame human or animal figures.

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[8] This manuscript was brought to my attention by M. Jean Porcher, conservateur en chef du département des manuscrits, to whom I am grateful for his kind permission to publish it. My thanks are also due to Mlle. M. Th. d'Alverny, conservateur adjoint, for further information on this volume, and especially to Mr. John Beckwith for reading the typescript of this article, and for proposing stylistic alterations and offering many helpful suggestions.

[9] The following Latin manuscripts may be roughly contemporary with Maio's *Expositio*: Palermo, Bibl. Comunale, MS. 2 Qq E 2 (Martyrology of the Palatine Chapel), cf. E. Stinco, *I Manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo*, vol. ii, pt. i, Palermo 1934, p. 159; Madrid 132 (choir-book), Madrid 289 (Troper), and Palermo, Cathedral Library 544 (Missale gallicum). On the last three manuscripts, cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, Berkeley (Calif.), 1946, p. 158 ff., with bibliography.

[10] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens Manuscrits grecs de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris, 1929, pl. CVI, no. 2.

[11] J. R. Martin, *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Princeton, 1954 (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, No. 5), p. 87, fig. 174. The miniature is here reproduced by kind permission of the American Foundation for the Study of Man.

But some features are common to all three frontispieces: the sturdy and massive columns, the shapes of the capitals, the decorated bases, and the broad ground-line connecting them. Moreover, in all three instances the outer capitals are cut in half by the picture frame. To this scheme the arches have been added to create the overall impression of a Canon Table. A close parallel to the proportions of the arches and of the architectural framework as a whole may be found in a Greek Gospel of the thirteenth century (Pl. XI, *b*)[12] which belonged to the library of S. Salvatore at Messina, and may have been copied in that monastery from an earlier book imported from the Greek East. Other points of comparison exist with two Latin Gospel books written in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem during the third quarter of the twelfth century.[13] In one of them (Paris, B.N., latin 276), the arches of the Canon Tables (Pl. XI,*c*), copied from a Byzantine model, rest again on similar capitals, of which the outer ones are cut in half by the frame; in the other (Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 5974), whose Canon Tables are derived from an 'Umbro-Roman' Bible of the middle of the century,[14] there are similar corner palmettes, and the lunettes under the arches have coloured backgrounds (Pl. XI, *d*). In this Vatican Gospel, which was probably a royal manuscript, the lunettes contain the title of the Canon written in gold on purple; in Maio's frontispiece there are vegetable scrolls on a gold ground. Some of the ornamental detail in Maio's title page may perhaps also be traced back to manuscripts from the Latin East. The crude imitation of a Byzantine palmette which crowns the central spandrel between the arches recalls similar imitations in the Vatican Gospel[15] much more than genuine Byzantine work, and the interlace decorating the central column, which is ultimately of Italian origin, has a close parallel in the frame of the picture of St. Mary Magdalene in Queen Melisende's Psalter.[16]

Two more features in the frontispiece of Maio's manuscript call for comment: the character of the scrolls in the lunettes, and the two addorsed birds, with their heads turned towards the centre, in the middle spandrel. This last motif, common in early Byzantine and Coptic art,[17] is in the middle Byzantine period found all through the Mediterranean area, from Egypt to Spain, mainly in Greek and Muhammadan textiles.[18] One of the closest surviving examples, in type as well as in date, is a silk, the 'chasuble of St. Edme' at Provins,[19] which is either of

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[12] S. Samek Lodovici, 'Codici miniati bizantini nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Messina,' *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, xv, 1941, p. 403 ff., Tav. XI; Biblioteca Nazionale di Palermo: *Mostra di Manoscritti in occasione dell'VIII Congresso internazionale di Studi bizantini*, Palermo, 1951, tav. 11.

[13] H. Buchthal, *Miniature painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, p. 25 ff.; Catalogue nos. 6, 7.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[15] *Ibid.*, pl. 44 a.

[16] *Ibid.*, pl. 19 c.

[17] Cf. E. Kitzinger, 'The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, iii, 1946, p. 25 ff.

[18] Cf., e.g. the Byzantine silk reproduced in A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of early medieval woven fabrics* (Victoria and Albert Museum), London, 1925, no. 1026, pl. XII; the Mamluk example listed in the same author's *Catalogue of Muhammadan textiles of the medieval period*, London, 1924, no. 954; or the Hispano-Moresque silk at Salamanca: O. v. Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, new ed., Berlin, 1921, fig. 147. The motif reappears moreover on a Byzantine tombstone of the thirteenth century, cf. G. A. Soteriou, Ἀραβικαὶ διακοσμήσεις εἰς τὰ Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλλάδος *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, xi, 1934/5, p. 233 ff., fig. 35.

[19] Cf. U. Monneret de Villard, 'Il Frammento di Hannover e la tessitura palermitana di stile bizantino,' *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, Nuova Serie, ii, 1953, p. 164. A reproduction in colour may be found in A. Aufauvre and Ch. Fichot, *Les Monuments de Seine-et-Marne*, Paris, 1858, p. 126. I am much indebted to Mr. John Beckwith for bringing this piece to my attention, and for his valuable advice concerning Sicilian and Muhammadan textiles.

Hispano-Moresque workmanship or made under Hispano-Moresque influence. We know that the royal silk-weaving establishment at Palermo was founded by Roger II after the Peloponnesian campaign of 1147, when he transferred Byzantine weavers from several Greek towns to Sicily.[20] Our illuminator may have copied the motif either from a Byzantine or Muhammadan silk which could have been seen in the market of the capital, or from a Sicilian piece of very recent workmanship manufactured at Palermo. The purple colour in which the birds are drawn may reflect the textile model.

The ornaments in the lunettes consist of floral scrolls springing from a central decorative leaf, and covering entirely the semicircles in regular and symmetrical curves. It is at first sight tempting to connect them with the mosaics decorating some of the arches of the nave in the Cappella Palatina at Palermo, which show similar regular designs branching out over the whole surface in overall patterns.[21] The ornamental motifs in the mosaics, however, are abstract constructions of a predominantly geometrical nature. The scrolls in Maio's manuscript, on the other hand, preserve enough of the vegetable character of the original invention to suggest that they are derived ultimately from decorated initials in transalpine books of the first quarter of the century. Still, they are so regular that a Mediterranean intermediate stage through which the northern patterns were transmitted to the master of Palermo may be suspected. It appears that the immediate model was again a manuscript from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, for the closest parallels are to be found in the illuminations of a Sacramentary (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, D.7.3) and a Missal (Paris, B.N., latin 12056) which were written for use in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre just before the middle of the century.[22] The initials in these two manuscripts contain vegetable scrolls in various stages of stylisation and symmetry (Pl. XII, *a*, *b*,), which spread out in the same measured rhythm, allowing some secondary scrolls to branch off and cover the interstices as completely as possible (Pl. XII. *c*). The flowers at the terminals are distinguished by their regularity, and by their strong modelling in darker shades of the basic colours, outlined in white. Some of the central petals, of a characteristically elongated shape, grow over the nearest coil of the scroll (Pl. XII, *d*). This style has an unmistakable identity, and it cannot be doubted that the scrolls in Maio's title page are based on it entirely. When they are placed side by side with the nearest comparable Italian illumination, a manuscript of the second quarter of the century from Lucca,[23] it springs to the eye how closely related the patterns from Jerusalem and Palermo are to each other.

The same influence is clear in most of the illuminated initials throughout Maio's manuscript. It is, if anything, even more marked here than in the title page. There are not only the identical scrolls ending in stylised flowers with elongated central petals (Pls. XII, *e*, *f*; XIII, *a*, *d*, *e*) but the shape of the letters is in most instances exactly the same as in the Sacramentary and the Missal of the Holy Sepulchre,[24] and so is the design of the gold fields of geometrical shape in which the initials are contained: they follow closely the outlines of the letters, and bulge out to enclose any projecting parts.[25] Finally, the small pointed ornaments decorating the corners are imitations of those found in an initial in the Gospel in Paris mentioned above.[26] There is, however, one characteristic difference: in Maio's *Expositio*, they are more lavishly employed, and appear whenever there is a break in the outline of the background (Pl. XIII, *c*, *e*). They have become entirely meaningless. Nothing could illustrate more clearly the derivative character of the Sicilian initials.

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[20] Cf. U. Monneret de Villard, 'La Tessitura palermitana sotto i Normanni e i suoi rapporti con l'arte bizantina,' *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, iii, Città del Vaticano, 1946 (Studi e Testi, no. 123), p. 464 ff.

[21] Cf. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, pl. 9.

[22] Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, p. 14 ff., nos. 2, 4.

[23] Cf. E. B. Garrison, 'A Lucchese Passionary in the Lateran,' in the author's *Studies in the history of mediaeval Italian painting*, i, 1953/4, fig. 255.

[24] Cf., e.g. our pl. XIII, *a* and Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, pl. 29 d; or the initial in Queen Melisende's Psalter, *ibid.*, pl. 15 b.

The last four letters in Maio's manuscript are of an altogether different kind: they have no backgrounds, and their forms and red-and-gold colour scheme show that they are inspired by initials in Greek manuscripts—another practice which can be traced to contemporary volumes produced at the Holy Sepulchre.[26a] The interstice of the last letter (Pl. XIV, *a*), for instance, contains golden scrolls of Byzantine parentage, which stand out effectively from the plain white parchment. These initials are by another hand, in all probability that of the calligrapher. At the moment when the decoration of the *Expositio* was almost completed, the illuminator abandoned his task, and the scribe had to take over.

The illuminations in Maio's book appear to be the first tentative beginnings of an art which is not founded on any local tradition and has as yet no character of its own. The frontispiece is an original creation, in which elements derived from several different sources are combined and re-interpreted to serve a new purpose. It achieves something of the effect of aristocratic splendour which an author, anxious to make an impression, might have had in mind when he commissioned the decoration of such a work. But the initials are mediocre imitations, drawn with an unsteady hand, without experience or conviction. Out of the eight letters which are based on models from the Holy Sepulchre, two pairs are almost identical,[27] and one could hardly ask for more telling evidence to show how new to his task and how unimaginative this master was. Not only do his initials fail to attain the high standard of production of the volume as a whole, but they also compare unfavourably with later Sicilian illumination. Nothing in them foreshadows the originality and superb quality, the virility and glamour of those contained in a group of manuscripts written towards the end of the Norman period in the cathedral scriptorium of Messina.[28] This inadequacy must have been realised, either by the illuminator or by the patron, while the work was still in progress, and it may explain why towards the end a change of models, and of hands, was considered desirable. The Greek patterns used for the last four initials were of a simpler nature than the Latin prototypes, and the desired result, an impression of quality, was accordingly more easily obtained. The standard of craftsmanship seems to be higher than in the preceding illuminations. But it need hardly be stressed that the change seriously impaired the homogeneity of the decoration as a whole.

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[25] Cf., e.g. our pl. XIII, *e* and Buchthal, *Miniature painting*, pl. 24 a.

[26] *Ibid.*, pl. 39 a.

[26a] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[27] They are fols. 3 and 14 (pl. XIII, *c*); 6 and 26 (pl. XIII, *d*).

[28] H. Buchthal, 'A School of Miniature Painting in Norman Sicily,' in *Late classical and mediaeval studies in honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 312–339; A. Daneu Lattanzi, 'Due sconosciuti manoscritti di epoca normanna,' *Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi Ruggeriani*, Palermo, 1955.

So far this is the only manuscript known to be illuminated in this style. One might be led to conclude that Maio's *Expositio* represented as unique a venture in its own day as it appears to the modern student. The scope and original destination of the volume would have amply justified so singular an experiment, and there may have been no opportunity to repeat it. However, this is a fallacious argument. The influence of the style of the initials in Maio's manuscript can be traced in later Sicilian illuminations. It is unlikely that those later works all depended on one private book, so there existed, presumably, other manuscripts which were close relatives of the dedicatory copy of the *Expositio.* The Latin scriptorium of Palermo must have produced several volumes decorated in the same style, which may not have survived or perhaps still await discovery.

It is true that this impact on the main group of Sicilian illuminated manuscripts, produced at Messina during the last ten or fifteen years of the Norman domination, is not immediately obvious. The initials from Messina are a new departure, like those in the *Expositio* itself. They are the contemporaries of the mosaics of Monreale, and in many ways are related to them : accordingly, the Byzantine element is much stronger than in Maio's manuscript. They show moreover a new influx of the styles of the Latin East and of Central Italian illumination; and all these different elements and motifs are blended together into a decorative art of such generosity and exuberance as to have few equals in contemporary Latin work. One small group of decorated letters, however, stands apart, and does not fit into this general pattern. The initial here reproduced (Pl. XIV, *b*)[29] for instance, has scrolls which lack the firm movement and the elaborate modelling of the other initials from Messina. Instead of the large Byzantine palmettes which are usually found at the terminals[30] there are the characteristic small flowers with elongated central petals projecting over the nearest coil, almost identical with those in Maio's manuscript. It is evident that the entire ornament covering the interstice is based on a model similar to the *Expositio* and probably contemporary with it, which was also produced in the scriptorium of Palermo. Comparable initials occur in other manuscripts of this group from Messina; the influence of Palermo is especially striking in a Gospel book now in the Cathedral of Città Nobile (Malta).[31]

The second type of decorated letter in Maio's manuscript, that which was based on Byzantine illumination direct, survives in an even greater number of examples. Many of the small initials which adorn practically every page of a Missal in Madrid, the finest existing specimen from Messina,[32] and several of its sister manuscripts, may be traced back to letters of exactly this shape, and contain refined versions of the golden scrollwork as it is found in Pl. XIV, *a*. The most conspicuous elaboration of this style occurs in a Gospel book in the Vatican (Vat. lat. 42), another member of the group from Messina (Pl. XIV, *c*).[33] The large sumptuous letters drawn in red and gold achieve a superb decorative effect, and clearly represent another link between the scriptoria of Palermo and Messina.

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[29] From Madrid, Biblioteca Nacionál, MS 6, cf. Buchthal, *School of Miniature Painting*, p. 322.

[30] *Ibid.*, figs. 13, 14, 19, 22.

[31] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 320.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 315 ff.

[33] Cf. M. Vattasso and Pio Franchi de'Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, i, Roma, 1902, p. 52, where it is dated in the fifteenth century. This manuscript was brought to my attention by Dr. O. Paecht, who was the first to point out its correct date and place of origin.

Our last comparison concerns a manuscript which belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century. It is a Bible in Madrid which has a colophon to the effect that it was written in 1259, in the reign of King Manfred of Sicily,[34] and contains several initials in which the motif of the addorsed birds is taken up (Pl. XIV, *d*). It is tempting to connect them with the birds on the title page of Maio's manuscript, though the motif may of course have reached the thirteenth-century master by channels other than an illuminated manuscript from Palermo[35] : it was, as we have seen, especially popular on textiles. The comparison with Maio's *Expositio* is here advanced with all due caution, perhaps more in the way of a curiosity than a proof, but the surviving material from this period is so scanty that no evidence, however slight, should be entirely neglected.

Even without this last example, the main point we have set out to prove should have become sufficiently clear. The influence of the style represented by the illuminations of Maio's manuscript is too marked and persistent to have emanated from a single isolated product of a passing caprice. The dedicatory copy of the *Expositio* must be regarded as the only surviving member of a group. We are probably justified in speaking of a school of illumination which flourished at Palermo at the time when Maio was Grand Admiral—the earliest Latin school in Norman Sicily, the predecessor of that of Messina. It derived its main inspiration from decorated initials in manuscripts written in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and thus reflects the close ecclesiastical and commercial relations existing between Sicily and the Crusading Kingdom throughout the Norman period.[36] We shall probably never know the full extent of the production of illuminated volumes at Palermo. That the manuscripts from Messina have survived is due to the greed of a viceroy of Sicily who transferred them *en bloc* to Spain,[37] but among the Sicilian manuscripts now at Madrid there is no illuminated book from Palermo, and the hope of new spectacular discoveries in Sicilian libraries is slight. Possibly in quantity as well as in quality the production of Palermo was inferior to that of Messina.

A last question that remains to be answered concerns the part which the Grand Admiral may have played personally in sponsoring the art of illumination in Norman Sicily. The composite character of the decorations in the *Expositio* goes far to prove that the volume was one of the first to be embellished in this way, and in this particular scriptorium. The striking contrast between the mediocrity of the initials and the high quality of the frontispiece, which was executed with particular care, seems to indicate that the latter was carried out according to special instructions : the noble author himself may have supplied the copy of the Byzantine manuscript whose frontispiece served as one of the models. As far as can be judged, the art of the frontispiece was not taken up by the illuminators of Messina, probably because it was devised for this particular book and never repeated. The point cannot be proved, but it seems likely that Maio had the title-page produced with such care, partly because the *Expositio* was his own work and partly because he took a special interest in the output of the scriptorium and was eager to promote its artistic activities. His selection of a manuscript of one of the Greek fathers as the model for the frontispiece of his book speaks eloquently for his literary ambitions: they appear to have matched the unlimited ambition which he displayed in the field of politics, and which eventually precipitated his untimely death.

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[34] Cf. Patronato della Biblioteca Nacionál. *Catálogo de Codices Latinos. I (Bíblicos)*, por Martín de la Torre y Pedro Longás, Madrid, 1935, no. 14, p. 58 ff. (MS. 229).

[35] On the group of manuscripts connected with King Manfred, cf. A. Daneu Lattanzi, *Una Bibbia prossima alla 'Bibbia di Manfredi,'* Palermo, 1955.

[36] Cf. L. T. White, *Latin monasticism in Norman Sicily*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1938 (The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication no. 31), p. 211.

[37] De la Torre and Longás, *op. cit.*, p. VIII.

However this may be, the Paris manuscript of the *Expositio* will hold its place as one of the most valuable original documents from Norman Sicily, not only because of its association with an interesting personality in the most enlightened Latin state of the twelfth century, but also because it is the earliest known illuminated Latin book produced on the island—the precursor of greater things to come.

Hugo Buchthal.

THE ATTEMPTED BYZANTINE ALLIANCE WITH THE SICILIAN NORMAN KINGDOM (1166-7)

THE endeavours of Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180) to obtain a papal coronation from Alexander III in the years 1167–1168, and to have himself recognised as Emperor in the West in place of the schismatic and simoniac Frederick Barbarossa, together with his offers in return to subject the Byzantine Church to the authority of the pope, make up one of the most curious episodes in twelfth-century diplomatic history. The story, as told by Cardinal Boso in his life of Alexander[1], is well known, and has been discussed by a number of historians.[2] Boso relates that on two occasions Manuel sent an ambassador to the pope declaring his wish to unite the Greek Church (*ecclesiam suam graecam*) to that of Rome and proposing to do so, asking in return that the 'crown of the Roman empire' (*Romani corona imperii*) should be restored to him by the papacy, since Frederick (crowned in 1155) had so clearly shown himself to be unworthy of it. The first ambassador, identified as the *sebastus* Jordan, son of Robert of Capua, went to Alexander at Rome; on the second occasion the pope was at Benevento and the unnamed *apocrisiarius* conferred with him there. Manuel offered a great quantity of men and money, sufficient, his emissaries said, to reduce all Italy to the papal obedience, if his proposals were accepted; on both occasions, however, Alexander and his advisers, having considered the matter carefully, came to the conclusion that the emperor's plan was too doubtful and dangerous. Though cardinals were sent to Constantinople for further discussions, nothing came of it.[3]

Boso's dating of these missions is not, at first sight, very precise, and needs some elucidation. Kap-Herr concluded that the first one must have taken place either in 1166 or 1167, the second in 1167 or 1168; Chalandon placed them in 1167 and 1169–1170; Bréhier's dates are 1166 and 1170. A study published by W. Ohnsorge[4] in 1928, however, gave convincing reasons for dating the arrival of the first mission at Rome in April-May 1167, and the second at Benevento in May-August 1168.

The first set of proposals was thus made at a time when Alexander's position in Rome (whither he had returned from his French exile in November 1165) was one of great peril. Barbarossa had started upon his long-awaited fourth Italian expedition in October of the previous year[5] and his armies were advancing southward steadily during the early months of 1167. Indeed, soon after the first Byzantine mission had returned home, the pope had to flee from his capital.[6] It was a most critical period both for the papacy and for its chief temporal supporter in Italy, the kingdom of Sicily.

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[1] *Liber Pontificalis*, ii (ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1892), pp. 415, 419.

[2] See H. von Kap-Herr, *Die abendländische Politik des Kaisers Manuel* (Strasbourg, 1881), pp. 86–87; W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 92–94; F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène* (Paris, 1912), pp. 565–566; L. Bréhier in *Cambridge Medieval History*, iv (Cambridge, 1923), p. 602; J. Haller, *Das Papsttum*, iii (Stuttgart, 1952), pp. 194–195; S. Runciman *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955), p. 120.

[3] Johannes Cinnamus, the contemporary Byzantine historian of Manuel's reign, makes a very brief reference to the Emperor's attempts to get Alexander to crown him (Bonn ed., vi, 4, pp. 261–262). The pope, he says, had agreed to do this, but then the arrangements broke down over his stipulation that Manuel should reside in Rome. There is no confirmation of this in any other source; if, in fact, Alexander ever made such a condition, it is hard to believe that it was anything but a device for bringing the negotiations to an end.

[4] W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III im ersten Jahrzehnt seines Pontifikats* (Hist. Stud., Heft 175. Berlin, 1928), Excursus 2: Die Datierung der byzantinischen und päpstlichen Gesandtschaften der Jahre 1167 und 1168, pp. 146–153.

Manuel's interests were gravely threatened as well. Were the former Byzantine lands in south Italy to pass from their Norman conquerors into the possession of the most powerful ruler in Europe, there could be no hope of recovering them, as he had already sought to do by diplomacy and, in 1155–1158, by force of arms. Moreover the danger from the West, which had now been confronting Byzantium for a century, would assume a new and more ominous form. The Sicilian wars of 1081–1082, 1107–1108 and 1147–1149 had clearly shown that any strong power established in south Italy would be in a position to aim very damaging blows at the empire, and by gaining control over the western end of the Via Egnatia could directly threaten Salonica and the imperial capital itself. Manuel, who was kept well informed of Italian developments by his agents in various parts of the country,[7] possibly in Rome itself,[8] realised he would have to act promptly and decisively if the danger were to be averted.

The offer to the pope of men and money for use against Barbarossa shows how well aware of this he was. But the full significance of Manuel's projects at this time only becomes clear if the approach to the papacy is considered in the light of Romuald of Salerno's account of his attempt to form an alliance with the Sicilian kingdom, which took place during the same period.

Since the conclusion of peace with Sicily after the inglorious failure of the South Italian war of 1155–1158, Manuel had had little direct contact with the court at Palermo. Open hostilities did not break out again, but there was a good deal of mutual distrust and suspicion between the two powers.[9] With the death of King William I in 1166 and the succession of William II, a minor, new possibilities were opened to the emperor's ever-resourceful diplomacy. William I fell seriously ill early in the year, and Romuald of Salerno, who was a skilled doctor,[10] was summoned to Palermo to assist in tending the patient. But the king died on 7 May[11] and the government was taken over by his widow, Margaret of Aragon, acting as regent and assisted by a council of trusted advisers, of whom Romuald was one.[12] After narrating these events, and giving a fairly outspoken estimate of the late king's character, the archbishop goes on:

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[5] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* (ed. G. Waitz), p. 116; Rahewin (ed. G. Waitz and B. de Simson), p. 348; Otto of St. Blasien (ed. A. Hofmeister), p. 22.

[6] P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 11358-11359.

[7] Nicetas Choniates, *De Manuele Comneno*, Bonn ed., vii, 1, p. 262 : *ἀλλ' οὐδέ τις ἦν τῶν Ἰταλιωτίδων ἢ τῶν ἔτι πορρωτέρω πόλεων καθ' ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος οὐκ εἶχεν ὁμότην οἰκεῖον καὶ φρονοῦντά οἱ πιστά.*

[8] Cinnamus, iv, 14, p. 171; *Annales Cameracenses*, a. 1167, *M.G.H.*, *SS*, xvi, 539.

[9] Nicetas (ii, 8, p. 129) says that the period following the Italian war was one of counterfeit friendship (*λυκοφιλία*) between Sicily and Byzantium. Certainly there is no sign in any of the sources of the goodwill (*τὸ εὐμενές*) with which, Cinnamus says, Manuel came to regard his former enemy (Cinn., iv, 15, p. 175).

[10] He describes himself as 'in arte medicina valde peritus'; Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi, *RR. II. SS.*, new series, vii, part i, p. 253. Falcandus calls him 'virum in fisica peritissimum' (*Liber de Regno Sicilie*, ed. G. B. Siragusa, p. 122).

[11] Rom. Sal., p. 253.

[12] Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907), ii, 305–306; cf. Garufi's introduction to his edition of Romuald, pp. xv, xvii–xviii; F. Hillger, *Das Verhältnis des Hugo Falcandus zu Romuald von Salerno* (Halle, 1878), pp. 15–16.

> Emanuel autem imperator Constantinopolitanus, cognita morte regis W., nuntios suos ad regem W. iuniorem in Siciliam misit, mandans quod libenter pacem cum eo innovaret, et filiam unicam et heredem sui imperii simul cum imperio illi in uxorem traderet. Rex autem et regina, habito consilio, frequentes pro hoc negotio legatos ad imperatorem misit et recepit, pacem cum eo pristinam innovavit, negotio parentele propter multa capitula, quae interveniebant, indiscusso manente.[13]

This is a remarkable passage, of which little notice has been taken by students of Manuel's western diplomacy.[14] On the authority of the archbishop of Salerno, which, for these years, must be considered as very good indeed, it is stated that Manuel offered his daughter and heiress in marriage to the new king, and with her the assurance of succeeding to the imperial throne on his own death. He had now been married to his second wife for nearly five years without having had any children by her; the heiress in question, Maria, was the daughter of the first Empress, Bertha-Irene, and had been born in March 1152.[15] She was thus rather older than the young king of Sicily, who, according to Romuald, was a boy of twelve when his father died. Not until 1169 was a son, the future Alexius II, born to Manuel and Mary of Antioch.[16]

What makes the offer more striking is the fact that Maria was already betrothed. Probably towards the end of 1163, and certainly not later than 1164, Manuel had concluded a treaty with Stephen III of Hungary (1162–1172) by the terms of which he recognised Stephen's title and undertook to withdraw Byzantine support from Stephen IV, brother of the late king Géza II and pretender to the Hungarian throne. Manuel also agreed to marry his daughter and heiress Maria to Béla, Stephen III's younger brother and heir-apparent, who was then a boy of about twelve; by the terms of the same treaty Béla was to be brought up at the Imperial court in Constantinople and officially recognised as heir to the Byzantine throne.[17] Both Johannes Cinnamus and Nicetas Choniates, the historians of Manuel's reign, give the details of this treaty and further mention that the Hungarian prince's name was changed to Alexius[18] and that, as the Emperor's heir, he was invested with the newly-created rank of δεσπότης.[19] Their accounts make it quite definite that this arrangement was part of the original peace treaty, and not a later idea of Manuel's—i.e. that the Hungarian betrothal of Maria must certainly be dated in 1163 or 1164—and this has been accepted by all modern scholars.[20] The engagement to Béla was not broken off by Manuel until after the birth of Alexius II in 1169,[21] and from Romuald's narrative it is evident that the offer to the Sicilian court was made soon after the death of William I and at about the same time as Frederick launched his fourth Italian expedition,[22] which crossed the Alps late in October 1166.[23] Thus there can be no doubt that when Manuel offered his heiress in marriage *simul cum imperio* to the young king of Sicily she, and the prospective succession to the imperial throne, had for some three years been pledged to the future king of Hungary.

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[13] Rom. Sal., pp. 254–255.

[14] Chalandon briefly mentions it, but does not go into its implications at all in his book on John II and Manuel (pp. 570–571; cf. *Domination normande*, ii, 358–359, and *Cambridge Med. Hist.*, v, 198–199). Also C. Vignati, *Storia Diplomatica della Lega Lombarda* (Milan, 1886), pp. 98–100.

[15] Chalandon, *Jean II et Manuel I Comnène*, p. 212, n. 3; Du Cange, *Familiae Byzantinae* (Paris, 1680), p. 187.

[16] Chalandon, *loc. cit.*; E. Cognasso, 'Partiti politici e lotte dinastiche a Bisanzio alla morte di Manuele Comneno,' *Mem. della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 1912, p. 214, n. 3.

[17] Cinnamus, v, 5, pp. 214–215; Nic. Chon., iv, 1, p. 167. Cf. B. Hóman, *Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters*, i (Munich, 1940), pp. 395–396; G. Moravcsik, 'Pour une alliance Byzantino-Hongroise', *Byzantion*, viii, 1933, pp. 556–557; F. Dölger, 'Ungarn in der byzantinischen Reichspolitik,' *Ostmitteleuropäische Bibliothek*, viii, Budapest, 1942, pp. 334–338.

[18] Cinn., *loc. cit.*; Nic. Chon., iii, 4, p. 147; v, 8, p. 221.

[19] Cinn., *loc. cit.*; Nic. Chon. *Thesaurus*, xxv, 3 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxl, 252). On the title δεσπότης see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Urum-Despotes,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, liv, 1951, pp. 448–460; L. Bréhier, *Les Institutions de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1949), p. 140.

This shows how much importance Manuel attached to securing the alliance and co-operation of his former enemies in the Sicilian kingdom at this point; in an all-out attempt to gain them he was even prepared to throw away the solid diplomatic achievement of 1163, which promised to bring about the future incorporation of the Hungarian kingdom in his empire.

Why was this? Certainly not just for the sake of a military alliance. The Sicilian Normans needed no such incitement to resist the German emperor; if he were to get past Rome, they would be fighting to preserve their own conquests and independent existence. Manuel's aim was a much more comprehensive one; startling as it was, the proposal made to Sicily was only the first part of a wider and even more revolutionary plan.

By this time the emperor was fairly well aware of the real position of the pope in the West, and of the extent and limitations of that combination of spiritual authority and temporal power that was at first sight so puzzling to the Byzantine mind. Though the bishop of Rome might in certain circumstances compel the western emperor to do homage and act as his groom[24] and claimed an authority higher than that of any other potentate on earth, it was plain that he was sometimes very much at the mercy of his temporal supporters and often had to acquiesce in their wishes. The Byzantine court must have seen this in 1156, when Pope Hadrian IV had been compelled to sign the treaty of Benevento with William I; it was, likewise, one of the facts emerging most clearly from the failure of Manuel's scheme for a great western alliance against Frederick in 1163–1164.[25] Alexander, Manuel now realised, however much he might be attracted by an offer to submit the Greek Church to papal supremacy, could not grant the *quid pro quo*—the 'crown of the Roman empire' and the hoped-for recognition of the *basileus* as the one Roman emperor in East and West alike—unless he were assured that this act would not at once be repudiated by a majority of the rulers of Europe, and more especially by William of Sicily. But the papal coronation scheme had in itself nothing to attract the court at Palermo. By itself it would make no contribution to the defence of the kingdom against Frederick's armies; to the Sicilian regents it would only mean that, as a papally-crowned emperor, Manuel would henceforth have a much stronger theoretical basis for his Italian claims and might even win the support of the curia for his unaltered purpose of recovering the former Byzantine possessions.[26] For the Sicilians the last state would be worse than the first. They were certain to oppose the coronation scheme very strongly, and they, more than any other western power at the time, were in a position to exert influence over the pope.

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[20] E.g. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 476; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (2nd ed., Munich, 1952), p. 308; Hóman, p. 395; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, i (Gotha, 1911), pp. 252–253.

[21] As both Cinnamus and Nicetas make clear; Cinn. vi, 11, p. 287; Nic. Chon., v, 8, p. 221.

[22] Rom. Sal., p. 255: 'Hoc autem tempore Fredericus imperator Teutonicorum iterum Italiam intravit, et per partes Marchiae usque Anconam venit et eam obsedit.'

[23] See W. von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1880), v, 524.

[24] For Cinnamus' mockery of Lothar's and Frederick's performance of the *officium stratoris* see v, 7, p. 219.

[25] For the details of this see Ohnsorge, *op. cit.*, Excursus I, 'Die griechische Gesandtschaft nach Frankreich in den Jahren 1163–1164,' pp. 125–145; Haller, *op. cit.*, iii, 173–176 and 508–509 (a somewhat different interpretation). Alexander, then in exile at Sens, had urged Louis VII of France to fall in with Manuel's proposals; but when the French king suddenly withdrew from the whole scheme the pope had been unable to affect his decision.

How could the essential Sicilian backing for Manuel's scheme be secured? Only, the emperor realised, by the most far-reaching measures; the regents must be convinced that the interests of the kingdom would be greatly furthered by it. Hence the proffered marriage alliance; William II should wed Maria and replace Béla of Hungary as δεσπότης and heir to the Byzantine throne; in the meantime Manuel would be crowned by the pope and recognised as sole Roman emperor, Frederick having forfeited any claim to that supreme dignity by his tyrannous oppression of the Church, his support of one schismatic pope and his creation of a second. As a result of this papal action—a sort of 'retranslation of the empire'—there should again be only one emperor in East and West alike;[27] assured in advance of Sicilian support, the arrangement might be expected to commend itself to all the rulers of Europe—except, no doubt, to Stephen of Hungary. The long-standing enmity and mistrust between Byzantium and the Sicilian kingdom would be happily resolved, and on Manuel's death William II would become the fourth emperor in the Comnenian line. Meanwhile Byzantine gold, and any forces available, could be sent over to south Italy to assist in the defence against the forces of Frederick.

So Manuel reasoned. All these considerations, it seemed to him, might well be calculated to attract the Sicilian regents. He hoped that the prospective benefits would appear to them to be so overwhelming that they would, if necessary, put pressure on Alexander to consent to the coronation proposal. His hopes were disappointed.

Why the Palermo proposals came to nothing is not expressly stated by Romuald, whose reticence is clearly deliberate. The peace treaty of 1158 was renewed, he says, but the marriage proposal—*propter multa capitula quae interveniebant*—does not seem to have been seriously considered; at all events, no decision was reached.[28]

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[26] See the letter sent by Manuel to William I after the Byzantine defeats in south Italy in 1156–1157, Cinn., iv, 15, p. 173: *Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ οὐ πρότερον Ἰταλίᾳ πολεμοῦντες ἀφέζονται, πρὶν ἂν αὐτήν τε καὶ τὴν νῆσον πᾶσαν* (i.e. Sicily) *ὑπὸ παλάμῃ τῇ ἡμῶν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἤδη ποιήσωνται.*

[27] In proposing to receive the *Romani corona imperii* from papal hands Manuel was not, in his own eyes, committing himself to any papal theories about the nature, origins and transmission of the imperial power; certainly neither he nor his subjects would for a moment have accepted the idea that the Byzantine emperor—*βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων*—should derive his unique dignity from a coronation by the pope. But the western imperial title, however baseless might seem its pretensions and however ludicrous its *arcana* to Byzantine minds, had now been in existence for over three centuries, and since it was this title and all that pertained to it that Manuel was seeking to re-incorporate into his own imperial status he had, in approaching Alexander, to appear to take the institution at papal valuation. This he hoped would make possible the fulfilment of his plan, and ensure the recognition of his title in the West; to his own mind, however, receiving a crown from the bishop of the elder Rome would be simply a matter of practical convenience—a sort of secular *οἰκονομία*.

[28] The exact force of *indiscusso manente* in this context is not easy to determine. Plainly the suggestion was discussed, for Romuald says that several missions went between the courts. 'Undetermined' is probably the nearest equivalent. Del Re, in his parallel Italian version of this portion of the *Chronicon* (*Cronisti e Scrittori sincroni Napoletani*, Naples, 1868, i, 31) translates '. . . *indeciso* rimanendo, per molte ragioni, il negozio del parentado.'

What were these *capitula* which, in the eyes of the regents, were such an obstacle and which, writing some fourteen years later, the archbishop still avoided discussing? One possible answer, of course, is that news of Maria's precontract had reached Palermo. There is no indication in the Greek sources that the Béla arrangement had been kept secret, but it is not referred to in any Latin source, although two Bohemian chroniclers mention the treaty of which it formed a part.[29] It is reasonable to suppose that Manuel tried to prevent the news of his diplomatic *coup* from reaching the German court, where the prospect of Hungary's being incorporated into the Byzantine empire would have caused great concern, but it is hard to believe that he succeeded for long. There was a great deal of close contact between the courts of Frederick Barbarossa and Stephen III; in 1165 the Hungarian king had repudiated his first wife and married the daughter of Henry, duke of Austria[30] and there are reports of German soldiers fighting with the Hungarians against Manuel's forces in 1165[31] and 1167.[32] Possibly the news of the earlier betrothal filtered through to the Sicilian court during the negotiations, and this caused Queen Margaret and her advisers to let the whole matter drop. Or, alternatively, they may have known of it from the start, and have been unconvinced by such assurances as Manuel may have given that he could break off his daughter's engagement whenever convenient.[33]

However this may be, the regents must have been greatly startled by the novelty and audacity of Manuel's scheme, and felt that it required a good deal of consideration; this would explain the *frequentes legatos* which travelled between Palermo and Constantinople. How long the discussion continued, Romuald again does not reveal. The great plague of August 1167 which so suddenly struck Frederick's army removed, for the time being, the imminent threat to the kingdom, and the harrassed regents may well have taken advantage of this respite to let the matter drop.

The indecisive reaction from Palermo must have been a serious disappointment for Manuel; he was badly pressed for time and could not afford to wait long while the Sicilians made up their minds. Frederick was at Bologna in February and moved down to Imola and Faenza in March; early in May, having sent a part of his forces under Rainald of Dassel and Christian of Mainz on towards Rome, he himself laid siege to Ancona.[34] The threat to the former Byzantine lands grew daily more imminent.[35] In these circumstances it seems probable that Manuel waited as long as he could for a favourable reply; this never came, and he ultimately sent off Jordan of Capua to Rome without the assurance he had hoped to be able to give Alexander—that the Sicilian court supported his scheme—because the situation in Italy had become too menacing for further delay. But the second half of the plan could not be carried through without the first. Deprived of Sicilian backing, the coronation proposal had no chance of success, either then or at Benevento a year later.

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[29] Vincent of Prague, a 1164, *M.G.H.*, *SS.*, xviii, 682; *Ann. Pragenses*, *ibid.*, iii, 121.

[30] Rahewin, p. 368; *Cont. Zwetlensis prima*, *M.G.H.*, *SS.*, ix, 538; Cinn. vi, 4, p. 262.

[31] Cinn. v, 7, p. 218.

[32] *Cont. Zwetl. prima*, *loc. cit.*

[33] This is admittedly surmise; but if the earlier betrothal was not kept secret Manuel must have accompanied his offer to Palermo with some such assurance. If so, it was well founded, as events after the birth of Alexius II were to show. A question which suggests itself is—did Béla himself know anything of his prospective father-in-law's eagerness to break off his engagement and despatch his promised bride to Sicily? But he was only a boy in his middle 'teens at the time; and, in any case, the fact that his friendly feelings for Manuel and for Byzantium survived the arbitrary rupture of the betrothal a few years later (see Cinnamus' account of Bela's return to Hungary after his brother's death in 1172, vi, 11, p. 287, and, more generally, Gy. Moravcsik, 'Pour une alliance byzantino-hongroise', *Byzantion*, viii, 1933, pp. 555–568) would suggest that his affections had not been very heavily engaged. For Maria's reactions, see Nic. Chon., v, 8, p. 222. Ultimately married to Ranier of Montferrat, she was one of the victims of the butchery which followed Andronicus I's usurpation of the throne in 1183.

[34] Rahewin, p. 349; Otto of St. Blasien, pp. 22–23. For a summary of Frederick's movements, see Giesebrecht, v, 531–537.

Boso says nothing about the Sicilian negotiations, though, as has been seen, they must still have been in progress when Jordan came to Rome. Possibly he knew nothing about them; unable to report a success, Manuel may well have kept the whole matter quiet. It is clear that both these sets of negotiations were conducted in the utmost secrecy; Cinnamus and Nicetas, both of whom were for much of their lives in close contact with the imperial court and with Manuel's ministers and advisers, either knew nothing of the plan to make William the emperor's heir or else considered, for one reason or another, that it was not a matter about which they could write in their histories. They knew that Manuel approached the pope with a proposal that he should be recognised in Rome, instead of Frederick[36], but about the emperor's offer in return to submit the Byzantine Church to papal authority they are either ignorant or very discreetly silent. No western source except Boso mentions the offer to the pope, nor, so far as can be seen, did any full knowledge of the marriage negotiations with Sicily penetrate beyond the court at Palermo until Romuald wrote his chronicle.[37]

Ingeniously thought out, well timed and cleverly presented, the great plan was a worthy product of Manuel's fertile and far-reaching imagination; in conception it should perhaps rank as his diplomatic masterpiece. It affords a good example of his freedom from some of the prejudices and preconceptions of Byzantine society during the twelfth century. As a practical proposition it had, it is clear, little if any hope of success; misled by the widespread opposition to Frederick's ecclesiastical and imperial policies and by the papal appeals for his support soon after the outbreak of the schism[38] Manuel failed to understand the real nature of the conflict between *Imperium* and *Sacerdotium* and greatly erred in supposing that Barbarossa's misdeeds had left a vacant niche in the political structure of western society which he could hope to fill.[39] But if the great plan was a chimaera, it was an interesting one, and certainly the most remarkable solution ever devised for that South Italian problem which, in different ways, vexed both Empires for more than a century and which constituted so mortal a threat to the existence of Byzantium. With the marriage of the heirs of the Western Empire and the Sicilian Kingdom twenty years later that problem was to be solved in a very different fashion.

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[35] The enthusiastically imperialist Cologne Chronicler actually reports their conquest: 'Imperator quarto Italiam ingressus . . . in brevi omnem Italiam, Lombardiam, *et Apuliam* sibi subiecit' (*Chron. reg. Colon.*, p. 117). This, of course, is quite wrong as regards the last item, but it sums up neatly what the pope, the Sicilian court and Manuel all feared might happen.

[36] Cinn., vi, 4, pp. 261–262; Nic. Chon., vii, 1, p. 261.

[37] What appears to be a confused reference to Manuel's dealings with the curia and the Sicilians during these years may be found in the so-called *Annales Seligenstadenses*, which Scheffer-Boichorst showed to be a wholly Italian compilation, Roman down to about 1140 and thereafter most probably written in Lombardy. (See P. Scheffer-Boichorst, 'Uber die sogenannten Annalen von Seligenstadt und verwandte Quellen,' *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, ix, Göttingen, 1869, pp. 383–396; the earlier part of the chronicle he showed to have a strong affinity with those of Monte Cassino and la Cava.) The passage in question (*M.G.H.*, *SS*, xvii, 32) is under the year 1168 and runs: 'Alexander Lombardiam ab imperatore avertit; coronam imperii modo regi Grecorum modo regi Siciliae promittit.' This, of course, is the wrong way round; it was Manuel, not the pope, who was approaching the other two with his lavish promises. The author—or authors; Scheffer-Boichorst detected more than one hand at work—of the later part of this chronicle was a fervent supporter of Frederick and was out to discredit the cause of Alexander III as much as he could. In this instance it looks as though the annalist was aware of some sort of association or combination between the figures most concerned in Manuel's great scheme, and guessed the remainder of his story.

John Parker

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[38] The letter written to Manuel by William of Pavia, Cardinal-Priest of San Pietro in Vincoli some four years earlier (probably late in 1162) is especially worthy of notice in this connection (M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xvi, no. clxxxiii, pp. 55–56). Some of the phraseology is remarkable; in his efforts to persuade the Byzantine emperor to come out openly in support of Alexander the cardinal referred to the Western empire as a usurpation of rights properly belonging to Manuel and his predecessors. 'Ex imperatoriis gestis et ipsorum augmentis operum cognoscentes quantis honoribus praedecessorum vestrorum reverentia christianorum omnium matrem, sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam sublimaverit, quantisque donaverit privilegiis, intuentes; et quanta eidem ecclesiae a barbarorum tyrannide fuerint inflicta gravamina, ex quo imperatorium nomen noscitur ab illis usurpatum; merito excellentiam vestram singulari quadam intentione diligimus, et imperium vestrum perpetua servari stabilitate optamus atque indeficientibus incrementis semper promoveri' etc. The letter ends 'Vestrae itaque sublimitatis et circumspectionis erit, si hoc vobis placet, semota procratinatione rescribere, et ut verbum istud, ad ecclesiae Dei exaltationem et imperatorii culminis solium communiendum propensius et extollendum, citius executioni mandetur, sollicitudinem atque operam vigilantius adhibite.'

[39] Manuel was almost certainly committing as great an error if he believed that any considerable portion of the Byzantine Church could be brought to acquiesce in a plan which involved its being subjected to papal supremacy and regulation. The complex story of the emperor's subsequent attempts to influence the patriarch Michael III (1170–1178) and other churchmen in this regard cannot be considered here; the evidence is fragmentary and unsatisfactory, at times contradictory. For a brief summary see Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–102. Two recent contributions of considerable interest may be cited; A. Dondaine, 'Hughes Ethérian et Léon Toscan,' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen age*, xix, 1952, pp. 67–154; and G. Hofmann, 'Papst und Patriarch unter Manuel Komnenos,' *'Επετηρὶς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, xxiii, 1953, pp. 74–82.

THE NORMAN ROYAL CHARTERS OF S. BARTOLOMEO DI CARPINETO

THE history of the old Benedictine abbey of S. Bartolomeo di Carpinetoi n the Abruzzi was written at the end of the twelfth century by one of its monks, Alexander.[1] This chronicler tells us much concerning the quarrels of the abbots during his lifetime with their unruly neighbours, chiefly the famous count palatine Roberto di Loritello and the bishop of Penne. Although he very seldom gives the year of the events he records, Alexander's narrative is firmly based for, as he tells us, he made use of the documents contained in the archives of the monastery. His statement to this effect is confirmed, in the case of the papal bulls, by several original documents which are known to have survived in the archives of the Cistercian abbey of S. Maria di Casanova, to which foundation Carpineto had been united in 1258.[2] Of the remaining documents, royal and private charters, only a few were till recently known. They were printed by Ughelli as an appendix to his edition of the *Chronicon* under the title: 'De fundatione et dotatione monasterii S. Bartholomei de Carpineto.'[3]

The original manuscript of Alexander's work has disappeared, although Ughelli certainly used it, for he cites *ex membranaceo ms. codice monasterii Casanovae*. A later version of the manuscript, a sixteenth century copy, was discovered by G. H. Pertz in the Biblioteca Chigiana (now in the Vatican Library Chigi G. VI 157), and B. Capasso drew attention to yet another manuscript in the Biblioteca Brancacciana in Naples, IV A 14, an eighteenth century copy.[4] Very recently Fr. Gratianus a S. Teresia, O.C.D., has had the good fortune to find in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana a further copy, D 70 inf., of the end of the seventeenth century, which gives a version fuller than that of the first two, thereby shedding fresh light on Alexander's methods of work,[5] for the meticulous monk had enriched his chronicle by adding to it a cartulary. A printed edition of this important appendix will be of great assistance in checking the narrative of Alexander's chronicle, and Father Gratianus has promised it to us. In the meantime, when I was last in Milan I used the new manuscript in order to check the charter (or charters)[6] of the Emperor Henry VI of which Miss Clementi had compiled a very useful calendar then being prepared for the press. I took the opportunity of copying for her use the earlier royal charters, and these new texts I now print with a few necessary comments.

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[1] *Chronica monasterii s. Bartholomaei de Carpineto auctore Alexandro monacho*, ed. F. Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, 2nd ed. (Venice, 1722), x (b), cols. 349–382.

[2] For the former archive of Carpineto, v. P. F. Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, iv, Berlin, 1909, p. 293.

[3] Ughelli, cols. 383–392.

[4] For these details v. Kehr, *l.c.*, p. 293 sub C.

[5] Fr. Gratianus a S. Teresia, O.C.D., 'Castigationes Kehrianae,' *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, iii, 1949, pp. 351–404; for the MS. chiefly pp. 353–355.

[6] B. Capasso had printed in *Archivio storico Napoletano*, i, 1876, pp. 205 seq. the rubics of the chartulary in the Naples MS. of the chronicle (the texts having been omitted), among them was an entry: 'Littere protectionis d. Henrici Imp. renunciationis Coni de Civitaquana,' the same wording also occurring in the Chigi MS. The Milan MS. shows that two different documents are referred to, namely a privilege, of Henry VI of 1195 (D. Clementi, 'Calendar of the diplomas of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI concerning the kingdom of Sicily,' *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, xxxv, 1955, Cal. 74) and another document of Coni de Civitaquana of January 1204.

No. 1 may well be the instructions sent by William II to Robert of Loritello referred to by Alexander in the Carpineto chronicle,[7] in which case the narrative provides the background of the instructions and shows that the barons of Civitaquana mentioned in the document were Robertus de Pulis and Anibalis de Civitaquana and that the churches they and the abbot of Carpineto claimed were S. Maria de Sereno and S. Maria de Genestrula. The first of these churches had belonged to Carpineto from the pontificate of Paschal II[8] and the second from that of Innocent II.[9] The details of the case as pleaded before Count Robert of Loritello are given by Alexander. He says that Abbot Oliverius had personally obtained a *speciale mandatum, quod postea regiis litteris est annotatum*, presumably the writ No. 2 printed below, which was, however, issued more than a year later.

The two following charters (Nos. 3 and 4) have a special interest with respect to the ecclesiastical policy of the Norman kingdom. They tell us that the abbot of Carpineto, Oliverius, had died on 31 August 1180,[10] and in consequence the convent had been obliged to elect a new abbot. F. Chalandon, who, so far as I know, is the only scholar to have dealt with the election of abbots in the kingdom,[11] observed that 'au point de vue de l'élection de leurs abbés. les monastères ont été placés dans la dépendence étroite du souverain' and he prints in support of his statement a letter of William II of 1174 to the monastery of Montecassino, previously unknown. A comparison of this letter with our No. 3 shows a striking correspondence not only of content but also of phrasing. In both cases the monks may only nominate a candidate and they must then send an embassy to the royal court to announce their choice to the king. They are also required to authorise their envoys to suggest another candidate if their first choice proves unacceptable to the king ('si . . . non fuerit ad electionem admissa,' in the Montecassino letter; 'ut de quacumque alia persona in presentie curie nostre nominationem et electionem fecerint,' in the Carpineto letter); the *electio* therefore required for its completion the king's consent. This procedure is based on a clause of the concordat of Benevento between William I and Pope Hadrian IV which reads:[12]

> De electionibus quidem ita fiet: Clerici convenient in personam idoneam et illud inter se secretum habebunt, donec personam illam excellentie nostre

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[7] Ughelli, col. 371C: 'Post haec . . . dominus rex speciale fecit mandatum, quod postea regiis est litteris annotatum, aliud comiti Loretelli super querimoniis, quas dominus abbas fecerat de Ruberto de Pulis et Annibale de Civitaquana et fratribus suis . . . .' In the *Catalogus baronum*, ed. del Re, p. 602, no. 1065 and p. 611, no. 1242, there is a *Cleopas de Civitaguana* who held in Penne *Civitatem Aguanam*. A baron *de Pulis* I have not been able to trace.

[8] *It. pont.*, iv, p. 294, no. 1.

[9] *Loc. cit.*, no. 3.

[10] Some confusion arises from the monk Alexander's dating of the death of Oliverius. Alexander (Ughelli, col. 374A), gives the day of the month (31 August) and (col. 373D) 35 years as the period during which Oliverius had held office as abbot. During his description of the suit of the bishop of Penne against Abbot Boemund (v. infra, n. 14), however, he notes that Oliverius was consecrated abbot by Eugenius III *apud Tusculanum*, and Eugenius III's privilege for Abbot Oliverius (*It. pont.*, iv, 294, no. 4; full text in Gratianus a S. Teresia, p. 375, no. 1) is dated Tusculanum, 16 May 1149, so there is every likelihood that it was issued on the occasion of the consecration. Yet according to our letter No. 3 Oliverius was unquestionably dead on 28 October 1180. Alexander has either made a slip in his reckoning—35 years instead of 31—or a mistake has been made in the subsequent transcription of his MS., or possibly Oliverius may have been nominated in 1145 but only consecrated in 1149, for in 1145 Eugenius III was contending with the Romans and during the two following years he was far from the south of Italy in France or Germany. In the light of this information the recent chronological list of the abbots of Carpineto compiled by Gratianus a S. Teresia, p. 404, requires correction.

[11] *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et Sicile*, ii, Paris, 1907, p. 591 with no. 2, text from the *Registrum Petri diaconi* in the archives of Montecassino.

[12] *Mon. Germ. hist.*, *Constitutiones*, i, no. 413, p. 588 seq., 11.

> pronuntient; et postquam persona celsitudini nostre fuerit designata, si persona illa de proditoribus aut inimicis nostris vel heredum nostrorum non fuerit aut magnificentie nostre non extiterit odiosa vel alia in ea causa non fuerit, pro qua non debeamus assentire, assensum prebebimus.

This left the selection to all intents and purposes in the king's hands.

A detailed account of the Carpineto election is given by Alexander,[13] who tells us that the monks were not able to reach a unanimous decision and so nominated two candidates. The king, on the ground that the monks were uncertain in their choice, rejected both of them and obliged the envoys of the monks to nominate a third person, so *in praesentia regis* the representatives of the monks, although few in number, nominated *pari voto* the monk Boemund of S. Clemente di Pescara, whose candidature the king accepted. The election was therefore, in terms of later canon law, an *electio per compromissum*, in accordance with the terms of the congé d'élire. In the opinion of the monk Alexander the king's consent completed the process of *electio*, but our letter No. 4 shows that the king, probably influenced by the fact of the original disputed nomination from the monastery, asked for confirmation by the higher authorities of the church. At first sight it is surprising that the king did not seek this confirmation from the *ordinarius* in whose diocese the monastery lay, i.e. the bishop of Penne, but the king's choice of the bishops of Valva and Teramo to act in the matter is explained by the fact that the late abbot of Carpineto and his monks had been on bad terms with Bishop Oderisius of Penne, so the envoys of the monastery may have protested against his participation in their affairs. At any rate, letter No. 4 goes on to show the *electio* was *canonice celebrata* only after the consent of the bishops of Valva and Teramo had been obtained. Subsequently the king gave final official approval, although the report made by the two bishops had not yet reached the curia. The apprehension felt by the monks of Carpineto towards their bishop was not without basis, for shortly after their new abbot had been consecrated by Pope Lucius III, Bishop Oderisius began a suit against the monastery, pleading that it was his right to consecrate the abbot.[14] It is noteworthy that this account of the Carpineto election confirms the view of modern historians[15] concerning the use of the term *electio* in medieval times, for it proves that it was no single act but a succession of varied procedure. Nevertheless the differentiation apparent in the royal letters between *nominatio* and *electio* shows that a tendency towards more clearly defined juridical terminology had already begun.[16]

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[13] Ughelli, col. 374A: '. . . tunc dominus rex litteras suas mandavit conventui pro eligendo abbate (our No. 3). Fratres ergo, quia dissidebant, duas nominaverunt personas et eorum nominationes per quosdam suorum d. regi miserunt; sed quia illae personae fuerant in dissidio nominatae, d. regi non placuerunt. Tandem vero fratres delegati, quibus ab universo conventu fuerat de electione plenitudo potestatis indulta, in unum conveniunt et pari voto ac communi deliberatione elegerunt quendam monachum s. Clementis de Piscaria d. Boamundum de Luco et celebrata in praesentia regis electione attulerunt regias litteras conventui huius monasterii et alias episcopo Valvensis et Aprutino . . . .' (our no. 4).

[14] Ughelli, col. 373 for the quarrel of bishop Oderisius with the monks, col. 375 for the suit concerning the right of consecration.

[15] This notion has been chiefly elaborated by H. Mitteis, *Die deutsche Königswahl, ihre Rechtsgrundlagen bis zur goldenen Bulle* (Baden bei Wien, 1938, 2nd ed., 1944).

[16] An analogous kind of procedure regarding the election of a bishop in the Regno is revealed by an interesting document, an *inquisitio* published by G. Celidonio, 'Notizie normanne locali e regionali da un documento del secolo XII sulla elezione del vescovo Valvense,' *Boll. della Soc. di stor. patr. A. L. Antinori*, xix, 1907, pp. 305–323. I have discussed yet another aspect of the ecclesiastical policy of Norman kings in a paper, 'Zur Kirchenpolitik König Wilhelms II', in *Studi medievali in onore di Ant. de Stefano*, Palermo, 1956, pp. 289–95.

The next letter (No. 5) again provides some fresh information. The scholar to whom this volume is dedicated will be chiefly interested in the name of the justiciar Bartholomew, hitherto unknown, which can now be added to the scanty information available concerning the royal officials in this remote part of the Sicilian kingdom.[17] The new document further helps us to correct an error in Alexander's chronicle.[18] The monk tells us that after the election of Abbot Boemund had been accepted by the two bishops, the *electus*, before presenting himself to the pope, whose right to perform the consecration had been expressly reserved by privileges of Innocent II and Eugenius III, hastened to Palermo to take his oath of fealty to the king. Alexander then says that on this occasion 'contra Marsilium et Yvonem de Populo ad comitem Raynaldum Aprutii attulit litteras.' I have not been able to find a baron of this name in the *Catalogus baronum*, but only a certain Raho de Poliano[19] (together with a Riccardus and a Transmundus de Poliano)—the same name as in our letter—so it seems to me very likely that Marsilius and Raho, alias Yvo, were members of the same family. If this identification is correct it follows that the monk Alexander made a mistake when he placed the letter No. 5 shortly before the consecration of Abbot Boemund, performed by the pope at the beginning of September 1182 in the church of S. Clemente in Velletri,[20] for the royal mandate No. 5 is dated January 28, indiction 7, and during the reign of William II the seventh indiction occurs only twice, 1174–1175 and 1189–1190. Therefore since Alexander ascribed the incident to Abbot Boemund's period of office the date of the mandate must be 1189, and in support of this dating it should be noted that the document itself, by the phrase *per monachos quosdam confratres suos*, suggests that the king's instructions were transmitted by messengers from the abbot and not by the abbot in person.

Finally the last privilege (No. 6) has some bearing on the general political history of the kingdom, since its date, Pescara, November 26, indiction 10, shows that King Tancred must have crossed from Sicily to the mainland in the autumn of 1191 and not in the spring of 1192, as F. Chalandon, misled by Richard of San Germano, stated after an otherwise shrewd assessment of the available evidence.[21] In the light of the new document it is clear that Tancred hastened to establish his authority in Apulia and the neighbouring territories very shortly after the Emperor Henry VI, overcome by illness and the failure of his attack on Naples, had withdrawn from the kingdom.[22] Tancred's document is in the form of a letter addressed to the barons, prelates and royal officials and it repeats in part the previous mandate of King William II (No. 2). It is perhaps permissible to discern in the rather pompous arenga a reflexion of the king's satisfaction in his victory over the emperor, for he claims that his royal authority is derived from God's mercy, *cum omnis potestas a Deo sit.* It is also interesting to note that Henry VI, when he confirmed the privileges of his predecessors[23] four years later, after the death of Tancred and the successful imperial conquest of the kingdom, copied William II's charter to a considerable extent and made no reference to that of Tancred, a policy which, as Dr. Clementi has shown, he normally followed, since from Henry VI's point of view Tancred was a usurper and his privileges had no legal validity.

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[17] E. M. Jamison 'The Norman administration of Apulia and Capua,' *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vi, 1913, p. 379.

[18] Ughelli, cols. 374D–375A; our letter is mentioned: 'facta fidelitate d. regi Siciliae . . remeavit. afferens litteras . . . contra Marsilium et Yvonem de Populo ad comitem Raynaldum Aprutii . . . .' The Chigi MS. reads 'Marsilium et Rahonem.'

[19] *Cat. bar.*, ed. del Re, p. 602, no. 1069 and p. 611, n. 1246; Riccardus de Poliano, *ib.*, nos. 1070 and 1247, Transmundus de Poliano, *ib.*, nos. 1071 and 1248.

[20] Ughelli, col. 375A: '. . . sequenti die in ecclesia s. Clementis de Veletro huius monasterii electo munus contulit benedictionis.' On this occasion Abbot Boemund received a confirmation of Pope Innocent's II privilege (full text: Gratianus a S. Teresia, p. 377, no. 2; *It. pont.*, iv, 295, n. 11) and a *littera dimissoria* mentioned by Alexander (*It. pont.*, iv, 296, n. 12, full text: Gratianus a S. Teresia, p. 379, n. 3). Only the *littera dimissoria* has a date (3 Sept.); the year must be, according to the pope's itinerary, 1182.

[21] Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii, 447 seq.

[22] This confirms the statement of the most recent editor of Richard of S. Germano, C. A. Garufi, that 'Tancredi, infatti, potè allontanarsi dalla Sicilia solo negli ultimi mesi del 1191' (Muratori, nov. ed., viii (2), Bologna, 1938, p. 11, no.1).

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[23] Clementi, *l.c.*, Cal. 74.

1. William II instructs Robert of Loritello, count palatine, to do justice to Abbot Oliverius of S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto, who has complained that the barons of Civitaquana have robbed him of a church and other possessions.

Messina, 5 June (1173).

Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D 70 inf. fol. 68, c. 137.

Guilielmus Dei gratia rex Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et princeps Capue Roberto palatino comiti Lorotelli, dilecto consanguineo et fideli suo, salutem et dilectionem. Olibrius venerabilis abbas sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto, fidelis noster, conquestus est curie nostre de baronibus Civitatis[a] Quane,[1] dicens quod ipsi iniuste et sine ratione destituerunt monasterium suum de quadam ecclesia et possessionibus et aliis rebus, quas monasterium suum habere consuevit et debet. Unde mandamus fidelitati tue et precipimus, ut, si ita est, sicut idem venerabilis abbas dicit, quod ipsi domini de Civitate Quana destituerunt monasterium suum iniuste et sine iudicio de predicta ecclesia et possessionibus et rebus eiusdem monasterii, facias ipsum monasterium exinde in integrum resagiri, sicut prius inde sagitum[b] fuerat. Si vero inter eos aliqua de huiusmodi emersit questio, postquam prefatus abbas inde sagitus fuerit, auditis rationibus utriusque partis et diligenter inspectis, quod iustum est et equum fuerit, inde inter eos fieri facias, ut super hoc ulterius iustam querimoniam non audiamus. Data Messine V die mensis[c] iunii, indictione VI.

[a] Ciuitate. [b] sagitus. [c] mense.

[1] Now Civitaquana near Carpineto; cf. *Catal. bar.*, no. 1065, 1242.

2. William II orders the counts, barons and officials to respect the possessions of the abbey of S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto.

Palermo, 22 September (1174).

Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D 70 inf., fol. 68*v*, c. 138.

Guilielmus Dei gratia rex Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principatus Capue comitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis,[a] camerariis, baiulis et universis fidelibus suis, ad quos iste pervenerint littere, salutem et dilectionem.[b] Divine maiestatis intuitu, in cuius nomine vota nostra dirigimus et omnem regiam dispositionem feliciter communimus sacrosanctas ecclesias, monasteria et loca venerabilia per regnum nostrum undique constituta dignum ducimus reverenter colere, rationes earum defendere, iura fovere et ipsarum paci et quieti misericorditer providere. Inde est quod per hoc presens scriptum mandamus universitati vestre et precipimus, quatinus venerabili monasterio sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto in Pinna et hominibus eius aut obedientiis vel iustis possessionibus et tenimentis suis nullum iniustum vel iniustitiam inferatis vel aliquatenus inferri permittatis nec eam[c] in iure vel rationibus suis iniustis exactionibus fatigetis sciturі, quod si quis huic mandato nostro temerarius obviator extiterit nostri culminis indignationem incurret. Data Panormi XXII mensis septembris, indictionis octave.

[a] justicieris. [b] dillectionem. [c] *sic*!

3. William II orders the monastery of S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto to nominate a new abbot in place of the deceased abbot (Oliverius), and to announce the name of the *electus* to the royal court by an embassy, which shall proceed to an election in the event of the person nominated by the monastery not being accepted.

Palermo, 28 October (1180).

Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D 70 inf., fol. 68*v*, c. 140.

Guilielmus Dei gratia rex Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principatus Capue universo conventui[a] sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto, fidelibus suis, salutem et dilectionem. Litteras vestras, quas per latores presentium confratres vestros maiestati nostre misistis,[b] vidimus et obitum pastoris vestri tanquam fidelis nostri gravem tulimus et, quia monasterium ipsum diu sine pastore esse nolumus, mandamus universitati vestre et precipimus, quatinus pro nominatione facienda conveniatis et secreto nominetis inter vos personam, que sit fidelis et de genere fidelium nostrorum orta, digna et sufficiens ad regimen ipsius monasterii; non tamen de ea electionem faciatis, sed solam secretam nominationem et mittatis personam ipsam nominando curie nostre per duos vel tres de melioribus confratribus ipsius monasterii, qui veniant muniti auctoritate totius conventus et deferant litteras ex parte omnium vestrum, in quibus contineatur, ut si de persona illa, quam inter vos nominaveritis, electio celebrata non fuerit, de quacumque alia persona in presentia curie nostre nominationem et electionem fecerint, a vobis omnibus ratum et firmum habeatur. Datum Panormi XXVIII° mense octobris, indictione XIIIIª.

[a] conuentu. [b] misisti.

4. William II grants assent to the election of the monk Boemund of S. Clemente di Pescara to the office of abbot of S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto.

Palermo, 26 January (1181).

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, D 70 inf., fol. 70, c. 144.

Guilielmus Dei gratia rex Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principatus Capue conventui sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto, fidelibus suis, salutem et dilectionem. Litteras vestras, quas celsitudini nostre misistis, benigne recepimus, in quibus continebatur, quod vos iuxta mandatum nostrum ivistis coram Oderisio[a] venerabili Valvensi[b] episcopo et Attone[c] venerabili Aprutino episcopo, fidelibus nostris, et exposuistis eis nominationem, quam feceratis de Boamundo monacho sancti Clementis de Piscaria, quem petebatis vobis in pastorem concedi, et predicti episcopi, quibus in hac causa vicem nostram commiseramus, videntes, quod unanimiter conveniebatis in eum et quod ipse Boamundus fidelis noster est et de genere fidelium nostrorum ortus et idoneus et sufficiens ad regimen ipsius monasterii, eum vobis vice nostra in pastorem concesserunt et canonice de eo fuit electio celebrata. Predicti autem episcopi nichil inde curie nostre significaverunt. Verum si iuxta mandatum celsitudinis nostre, quod missum est predictis episcopis,[d] in electione ipsa processum est, nos eam concedimus et electioni[e] ipsi prebemus assensum, expectantes tamen per litteras predictorum episcoporum certiorari, qualiter fuerit in ipsa electione processum. Data Panormi XXVI° mense ianuarii, indictione XIIIIª.

[a] Oderio. [b] Valuensis. [c] Atto. [d] episcopi. [e] ellectioni.

5. William II commits to Count Rainaldus of Abruzzi and the justiciar Bartholomew the suit between Abbot (Boemund) of S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto and Marsilius and Rao de Puliano.

Messina, 28 January (1189).

Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D 70 inf., fol. 73*v*, c. 154.

Guilielmus Dei gratia rex Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principatus Capue Rainaldo comiti Aprutii et Bartholomeo iusticiario, fidelibus suis, salutem et dilectionem. Abbas sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto per monachos quosdam confratres suos conquestus est curie nostre de Marsilio et Raone de Puliano dicens, quod ipsi destruxerunt quasdam ecclesias ipsius monasterii sui et prohibent ei iura, que inde consuevit habere ecclesia sancti Bartholomei, iuxta quod continetur in carta clamoris sui, quam vobis intus in ista mittimus interclusam. Quare mandamus vobis et precipimus, ut audiatis diligenter querimoniam prefati venerabilis abbatis et responsum iamdicti Marsilii et Raonis et quod iustum et equum fuerit, inde ei fieri faciatis, ut pro defectu iustitie amplius inde querimoniam non audiamus. Datum Messane XXVIII° mense ianuarii, indictione VII.

6. Tancred orders the prelates, counts, barons and officials to respect the possessions of S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto.

Pescara, 26 November (1191).

Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D 70, inf., fol. 74*v*, c. 157.

The phrases borrowed from No. 2 are printed in italic type.

Tancredus Dei gratia rex Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principatus Capue prelatis ecclesiarum, comitibus, iusticiariis, baronibus, baiulis[a] et universis, quibus littere iste ostense fuerint, fidelibus suis salutem et dilectionem. Cum omnis potestas a domino Deo sit, qui ad fastigia regni eius misericordia nobis preparata conscendimus et regia feliciter potestate regnamus, ipsi non immerito utpote nostre promotionis auctori et pietatis operibus et digna cupimus semper assurgere, in quantum possumus, observantia meritorum. Ideoque *constitutas per regnum nostrum sacrosanctas ecclesias et loca venerabilia* sacris misteriis dedicata obtentu divinitatis sub protectione nostri culminis duximus confovenda et eis ad quietem simul et indemnitatem volumus favore regio benignius[b] *providere. Inde est, quod per hoc presens scriptum universitati vestre mandamus* atque *precipimus, quatinus venerabili monasterio sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto* nec non et *iustis tenimentis* atque *possessionibus suis iniustum* et molestiam non *inferatis* nec *aliquatenus inferri permittatis*[c] *nec* ipsum monasterium *in iure vel rationibus suis iniustis vexationibus fatigetis sciturі, quod si quis huic mandato* celsitudinis *nostre temerarius obviator extiterit, nostri culminis indignationem incurret.* Datum apud Piscariam XXVI° die mensis novembris, decime indictionis.

[a] balulis. [b] benignus. [c] permitatis.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENT OF 1190 FROM APULIA

I

The administrative history of the Sicilian kingdom under Tancred, count of Lecce, an illegitimate member of the Norman royal family who reigned from 1189 to 1194, is in many respects obscure, but a charter from Montevergine,[1] brought to my notice by Miss Jamison[2] and now printed at the end of this article, throws some light on the fate of the larger of the two mainland provinces, namely All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro.[3]

The document in question was drawn up on the instructions of Lanzo Petitus, Humphrey, Bisantius and Pandulf, catepans[4] of Ascoli Satriano,[5] in November 1190, shortly after the town had been taken[6] by the royalists from Count Roger of Andria, a supporter of Henry VI of Germany, Tancred's imperial rival for the throne of Sicily. Its purpose was to enable Iohannicitus de Bocco to turn out the butchers' stalls under the arches of his house and it also authorised him, should the need arise, to prevent the said stalls from being set up in the market place in front of his house. In making this concession the catepans were acting on the orders of Berard Gentilis, count of Lesina, captain and master justiciar of All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro, and with the consent of the men of Ascoli. The permission was given in the presence of the judges Rufus, Episcopus, John and other witnesses and for its validation Johannicitus paid one gold ounce reckoned in Sicilian tarens. A record of the whole transaction was then made, in the shape of our document, by the notary Gaudius. It included an interesting statement, which the catepans thought it necessary to make, to the effect that Johannicitus's tarens were to be paid into the revenues of Ascoli Satriano and would therefore be spent on the town's fortifications, since it had already been conceded by the captains and master justiciars of All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro, Berard Gentilis, count of Lesina and Hugh Lupin, count of Conversano, that these revenues should be used for this purpose.

The value of the document for the history of the administrative province is apparent as soon as it is realised that for the following eight years no other source for All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro or the royal officials in charge of it is available. The charter provides a link joining the last years of William II's reign, when Tancred[7] himself and Count Roger of Andria[8] were *magni comestabuli et magistri justitiarii Totius Apulie et Terra Laboris*, with the early years of Frederick II's minority when Berard, count of Loreto, James, count of Tricarico, Roger, count of Chieti and Peter, count of Celano, usher in a new line of captains and master justiciars.[9] The slight change noticeable in the style from *magister* (or *magnus*) *comestabulus* to *capitaneus* is, even in 1190, not without precedent, and the charter therefore serves, as Miss Jamison has pointed out,[10] to show a direct connexion between the master captains of William I's reign and the master constables of William II's, for the variation in style seems to indicate a wider delegation of royal power, more particularly in military matters, granted during periods of emergency. In contrast, a gap exists from 1191 to 1198 in which the existence of either captains or master captains and master justiciars seems to be unlikely.

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[1] I have to thank this monastery and its archivist Dom Carlo Rabasca for their kind help and permission to print the charter.

[2] E. M. Jamison, 'The Norman administration of Apulia and Capua,' *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vi, 1913, p. 283, date unrectified.

[3] The northern boundary of the province started from a point a little to the north of the Tronto, passed south of Rieti, and joined the west coast of Italy a little south of Terracina. It coincided with the mainland frontier of the Sicilian kingdom. The southern boundary marched with Calabria, starting south of the mouth of the Agri and joining the west coast near Policastro. See Jamison, *op. cit.*, pp. 256, 347 and map.

[4] 'Sunt autem catepani potestates quedam que in civitatibus et castris illius regionis (Apuliae) principum vices agunt'; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris 1907), ii, 656, citing the *Historia Pontificalis*.

[5] Prov. of Foggia.

[6] The *Annales Casinenses* (in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Script.*, xix) and the *Chronica* of Ryccardus de Sancto Germano (ed. A. Gaudenzi in *Monumenti storici*, serie i, Naples, 1888), both *a.* 1190, in conjunction with the *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi* (ed. W. Stubbs, R.S,. London, 1867), ii, 140, suggest for the siege of Ascoli a date shortly after the middle of August 1190.

During the first part of this period, 1191 to 1194, there is not only no surviving evidence of the activity of such officers in the province but the Annals of Ceccano (a. 1192) describe Richard, count of Acerra and brother-in-law of King Tancred, as *Caput est quia guerrae. Hunc statuit dictus* (*rex Tancredus*) *regni dominumque magistrum* (= ? *capitaneus totius regni*). The count certainly exercised his functions mainly in All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro,[11] where he must, at the very least, have trespassed on the military sphere of action of the captains and master justiciars, if they continued to exist. Moreover a sentence in the Annals of Montecassino (a. 1192) strongly suggests that the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua (i.e. Terra di Lavoro)[12] were for a time separate, as they had been in the remoter past, since it records that King Tancred coming from Apulia *per Terram Laboris redit in Siciliam, relicto capitanio Ricardo comite Caleni*, and the assumption which apparently underlies this statement is that Richard count of Carinola was captain of Terra di Lavoro only.[13]

Again after the conquest of the Sicilian kingdom by the Emperor Henry VI, from 1194 to 1197, the absence of all record concerning the captains and master justiciars of All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro continues and the imperial administrative arrangements, in so far as they are known, once more leave little room for the existence of such officers. Within the province their functions appear to have been performed (1195–1196) by the German duke, Conrad of Spoleto, *totius regni Sicilie vicarius*,[14] and thereafter by Conrad of Querfurt, bishop elect of Hildesheim and imperial chancellor, who was *regni Sicilie legatus*;[15] in accordance with the duties implied in these titles both the Conrads busied themselves with the work of a master justiciar. Illustrations of this are provided in an undated letter from the duke to the abbot of Montevergine[16] instructing him to settle a case concerning a disputed succession to a tenement near Mercogliano.[17] Similarly the bishop, on 23 July 1196, sent[18] directions to a high ranking member of the kingdom's financial departments, Miss Jamison's Eugenius, to try a case; he sat himself in court with the imperial justiciars for Terra di Bari, Count Roger of Balbano and Robert de Venusio, on 18 October of the same year[19]; and on 23 May 1197 he instructed by letter[20] the imperial justiciars of Terra di Bari, on this occasion Robert de Venusio and John de Fraxineto, to hand over to Disigius, master of the knights hospitaller at Barletta, *castrum* Garagnone with its appurtenances. As to the military duties of the captains and master justiciars, defence and maintenance of the peace, both the Conrads were in these matters assisted by the two German commanders, who from 1191 had fought for the emperor in Apulia and Terra di Lavoro, namely Diepold, justiciar of Terra di Lavoro[21] and from the end of 1196 count of Acerra,[22] and Conrad of Lützelhard, marquis of Molise from early in 1195.[23] These men would have been ill-content to act as subordinates of the Norman-Sicilian aristocracy, from whose ranks the captains and master justiciars normally came, while on the other hand it is unlikely that the local aristocracy would have accepted at all willingly the appointment of the two Germans to the office, since they were of comparatively low birth[24]; moreover although the contemporary chronicles make frequent reference to both of them their names are never accompanied, at this date, by any indication that they held the title.

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[7] *Codice diplomatico brindisino*, ed. G. M. Monti (Trani, 1940), i, no. 23 (April 1187).

[8] *Codice diplomatico barese*, i (Bari, 1897: *Le pergamine del duomo di Bari*, 952–1264, ed. G. B. Nitto de Rossi and F. Nitti de Vito), no. 94 (December 1186).

[9] F. Baethgen, *Die Regentschaft Papst Innocenz III im Königreich Sizilien* (Heidelberger Abhandlungen. Heft 44, Heidelberg, 1914), p. 136. For a facsimile of the count of Tricarico's document, *Archivio paleografico italiano*, ed. E. Monaci, iii, no. 51.

[10] Jamison, *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 291.

[11] *Annales Casinenses*, a. 1190–1194.

[12] Jamison, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[13] Cf. E. M. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* (Oxford, 1956), p. 87.

[14] D. Clementi, *Calendar of the diplomas of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI concerning the kingdom of Sicily* (in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, XXXV, Tübingen, 1955), no. 78 and subsequently.

[15] Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum* (in *M. G. H., Script.*, xxi, 193); Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*^{2}, vii, 302.

During the months immediately following Henry VI's death (28 September 1197) his widow the Empress Constance ruled in her own right and encouraged the attack made by the inhabitants of the kingdom on those of the emperor's German followers who had remained there. Her reign was brief and troubled, hardly allowing time for administrative adjustment, since she died on 28 November 1198, but as part of the general revulsion against the foreigner it was to be expected that the province of All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro would re-emerge. In its financial aspect this is clearly what happened, for in July 1198 Eugenius was master chamberlain of All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro.[25] It remains questionable, however, whether captains and master justiciars were also appointed. If so, Berard,[26] count of Loreto, and Peter, count of Celano, are likely candidates for such offices, for the empress must have had confidence in them since she sent them to fetch her small son Frederick from Iesi in the Marches to Palermo,[27] while in Count Berard's case there was also a family connexion, for his wife, the heiress of Loreto, was the daughter of Constance's half-sister.[28] But the evidence which supports the suggestion that the two counts were appointed by the empress is somewhat tenuous. It consists in the fact that the names of these two men are found early in Frederick II's minority with the style of *magnus justiciarius* and *justiciarius* respectively of Apulia and Terra di Lavoro. Count Berard's name occurs in the rubric of an undated letter[29] of Innocent III which Baethgen[30] assigned to 1199 (*c.* October), while Count Peter's name comes in 1201 in a document[31] listing some of the same pope's letters. The assumption that the omission of the word captain is in both cases due solely to the fact that the clerk was making a summary is strengthened by a charter of Berard's for the year 1200 in which the count styled himself *capitaneus et magister iustitiarius totius Apulie et Terre Laboris.*[32] The two appointments may well have been made after Constance's death, but it is at least as likely that they date from her reign. In either case, because of the abnormal circumstances of the German invasion and occupation of the kingdom, the Montevergine document of 1190 appears to be the correct starting point for the history of the administrative province of All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro in Frederick II's reign.

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[16] Pergamene Montevergine, vol. 13, fol. 143, October, 1195. I owe my knowledge of the details of this MS. to a transcript kindly sent to me by Dom Rabasca. I hope to print the document in question in a future volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome*.

[17] Prov. of Avellino.

[18] *Cod. dipl. barese*, vi (Bari, 1906: *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari*, 1195–1266, ed. F. Nitti de Vito), no. 2.

[19] *Cod. dipl. brindisino*, i, no. 33.

[20] MS. Brancacciano IV C 14, in Tutini's hand. I hope in due course to print this with the document referred to in n. 16 above.

[21] It is unfortunate that the list of witnesses in which Diepold appears with this title only survives in a garbled manuscript copy (v. Clementi, *Calendar*, no. 66), because it leaves open the possibility that the word *magister* or *magnus* has been omitted; but even if this were the case Diepold would be master justiciar only for Terra di Lavoro.

[22] Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, *Chronica*, a. 1196; Clementi, *Calendar*, no. 96.

[23] Clementi, *Calendar*, no. 52 and subsequently. Ryccardus de Sancto Germano (a. 1197) records Conrad's death, adding that his county of Molise (prov. Campobasso) was then given by the emperor to Markward of Anweiler. This German had been count of Aprutium (Teramo) from 28 November 1195 at the latest (see K. F. Stumpf-Brentano, *Verzeichnis der Kaiserurkunden* in *Die Reichskanzlei vornehmlich des X., XI., XII., Jahrhunderts*, ii (Innsbruck, 1865), nos. 4976, 4977) but during Henry VI's lifetime he was not resident in the kingdom and therefore cannot have taken a prominent part in the local administration.

[24] U. Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens* (Innsbruck, 1868), pp. 315, 371. For Diepold see also E. Winkelmann and S. Riezler in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 1876, pp. 159, 371.

[25] Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 146 ff.; R. Ries, 'Regesten der Kaiserin Constanze,' *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, xviii (Rome, 1926), no. 112*.

II

In addition to the contribution it makes to the administrative history of south Italy, the document under discussion provides valuable information concerning the personalities of the kingdom during the reigns of King Tancred and the Emperor Henry. The captains and master justiciars, Berard Gentilis and Hugh Lupin, can be traced during William II's reign as members of the royal household.[33] It is therefore probable that they were in Palermo during the crucial period which followed that king's death, when Tancred, count of Lecce, was selected as the successor to the Sicilian throne by the *magnates curiae*,[34] and that investiture with the counties of Lesina and Conversano was the reward of their support, since at the time of William II's death both counties were vacant.[35] These facts chime in with the belief that Tancred owed his crown principally to the officials of the royal household and the central departments of government in Palermo rather than to the wishes of his fellow counts.

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[26] Not to be confused with the Berard Gentilis of the Montevergine document.

[27] Ries, *op. cit.*, nos. 67 note, 82.

[28] Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii, 105; A. Monaci, 'Notizie e documenti per l'Abbazia di Casanova nell'Abruzzo,' *Il Muratori*, iii, 1895, pp. 40, 67.

[29] Migne, *P.L.*, ccxiv, no. 205.

[30] F. Baethgen, *Regentschaft Inn. III*, p. 136.

[31] A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium* (Rome, 1863), i, 61 (no. 211).

[32] P. A. Tarsia, 'Historiarum cupersanensium' in *Delectus scriptorum rerum neapolitanarum* (Naples, 1835), p. 709.

[33] In February 1177 Berard witnessed a royal document as *Berardus Gentilis regiae privatae maisnedae constabularius* (see *Gesta Henrici II*, i, 171) and in March 1187 Hugh witnessed as *Lupinus domini Regis Senescalcus* (see C. A. Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia*, in *Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia*, prima serie, diplomatica 18, Palermo, 1899, p. 216). In this second document another entry *signum manus Riccardi Gentilis regie private maesnede comestabuli* may well contain a misreading of *Berardi* as *Riccardi*, since the MS. is not an original and the name Berard is often mistranscribed. For Hugh Lupin's parentage see Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 88.

[34] *Ann. Casinenses*, a. 1189.

[35] Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 88.

Another point of interest is that, since both men can subsequently be found enjoying imperial favour,[36] if the Montevergine document were not available there would be no evidence that Hugh Lupin had ever been an active[37] supporter of Tancred. This evidence of his earlier loyalty is of value, because it supports the suggestion recently made[38] that he was one of the leaders in the rebellion of 1197 against the Emperor Henry.

III

The usefulness of the document is not entirely exhausted by its administrative and personal aspects, since there remains for consideration the statement made in it by the catepans that the captains and master justiciars of All Apulia and Terra di Lavoro had agreed that Ascoli should spend its revenues on its fortifications, and this in spite of the town's recent association with the rebel count of Andria. Now it has long been apparent that the strategy employed by Tancred, when resisting imperial invasion, was one of static defence based on the more important cities such as Naples, Capua or Salerno, but the statement of the catepans strongly suggests that his defensive measures also included the fortification, or the improvement of the fortifications, of the smaller towns like Ascoli. In this case it becomes probable that a first principle of imperial policy after the conquest of the kingdom would have been the levelling of the walls of the towns.

Evidence to support this theory can be found in the contemporary chronicle of S. Maria de Ferraria (a. 1195), where it is recorded that immediately after the conquest, when the emperor and empress celebrated Easter (2 April) 1195 at Bari, the walls of that town were destroyed by the emperor's order. It is unlikely that these instructions were merely a short term punitive measure, because it is known from a letter[39] of Henry VI's that Bari was one of the Apulian towns which surrendered to him immediately in response to the offer of an amnesty made in the early autumn of 1194; moreover the chronicle of Ferraria goes straight on to record the levelling of the walls of Naples and other cities in 1196. In addition it appears from an imperial privilege[40] to Aversa of 15 April 1195 that special permission was necessary if a city was to retain its existing fortifications, and it is noticeable that when in 1196 the imperial legate Conrad of Hildesheim arranged for the destruction of the walls of Naples and Capua he acted with the assistance of the abbot of Montecassino, the very person who had opened negotiations in 1194 with the cities of Apulia on the emperor's behalf.[41] Toeche, who had access neither to the chronicle of S. Maria de Ferraria nor to the privilege to Aversa, viewed the levelling of the walls of Naples and Capua as individual acts of a punitive nature forming part of a policy of extreme severity, initiated by the emperor when he sent Conrad of Hildesheim to Italy to replace Conrad of Spoleto.[42] But why should a man of peace be substituted for a man of war if a policy of forceful repression had just been decided on? Moreover with regard to the walls of Naples and Capua it is likely, in the light of recent evidence, that they would have been razed before 1196 if the cities had not succeeded in postponing the evil day: Capua through the good offices of its archbishop Mathew, who was numbered among Henry VI's inner circle of advisers,[43] and Naples, again by presumption, through pleading her services to the imperial cause in 1194,[44] when she had sent her submission to the emperor while he was still as far away as Pisa and had harboured his fleet.

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[36] For Berard Gentilis v. Archivio Storico Provinciale del Sannio 'A. Mellusi,' Benevento, Pergamene di S. Sofia Benevento, vol. 10, nos. 1, 8. I hope to print this with the document referred to in n. 16 above. For Hugh Lupin v. Clementi, *Calendar*, nos. 42, 55, 72, 82.

[37] A charter of 14 June 1192 had shown him to be a passive adherent of Tancred's (Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, p. 88, n. 1).

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 157 f.

[39] Clementi, *Calendar*, no. 24.

[40] *Ibid.*, no. 79.

[41] Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, a. 1194, 1197.

[42] T. Toeche, *Heinrich VI.* (Jahrbücher d. deutschen Geschichte. Leipzig, 1867), pp. 449, 451. Above, p. 102.

Dione Clementi

1190,[45] *November, ninth indiction.* *Ascoli Satriano.*[46]

In nomine Domini Dei eterni. Anno ab incarnatione sacratissima Ihesu Christi filii eius millesimo centesimo nonagesimo primo, regnante domino nostro Tancredo invictissimo rege Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principatus Capue, mense Novembris, indictionis none. Nos Lanzo Pettitus filius quondam Gruso Iohannis, Umfridus filius olim Ursileonis, Bisantius filius quondam Bisantii et Pandulfus filius Landini comestabilis, qui sumus constituti catepani in civitate Ascoli, habito, super hoc, precepto a domino Berardo Gentile, Dei et regia gratia illustrissimo comite Alisine[47] capitaneo et magistro iusticiario Totius Apulie et Terre Laboris, consensu etiam et voluntate universorum hominum eiusdem civitatis, presentia dominorum Rufi, Episcopi et Iohannis iudicum et subscriptorum testium, concedimus tibi Iohannicito de Bocco et firmiter statuimus ut stalle macelli, que hactenus erant subter arcum domus tue, que est in platea secus domum Martini Cordanerii, exinde amodo ammoveantur, et nunquam decetero ante predictam domum tuam instituantur, recipientes a te, pro confirmatione ipsius nostre concessionis, unciam auream unam tarenorum[48] Sicilie, quam statim erogavimus in munitionibus iamdicte nostre civitatis, cui prememoratus dominus Berardus Gentilis, dei et regia gratia egregius comes Alisine et dominus Ugo Lupinus, eadem gratia illustris comes Cupersani,[49] capitanei et magistri iustiarii [*sic*!] Totius Apulie et Terre Laboris omnes reditus ad eam pervenientes pro eadem civitate munienda concesserant. Et ut ipsa nostra concessio tibi et tuis heredibus omni tempore firma et stabilis perseveret, hoc presens scriptum per manus Gaudii puplici notarii tibi inde scribi precepimus in quo cum signo Sancte Crucis subter nos denotavimus. Quod scripsi ego prefatus Gaudius notarius quia interfui. Actum in predicta civitate, feliciter.† (Notarial sign.)

†Ego Lanzo Petitus.
†Signum crucis proprie manus predicti Umfridi Catepani.
†Signum crucis proprie manus predicti Bisantii Catepani.
Signum crucis proprie manus predicti Pandulfi Catepani.
†Ego qui supra Rufus Iudex. (NS)
†Ego qui supra Episcopus Iudex. (NS)
†Signum crucis proprie manus Bisantii[50] filii olim Iohannisciti.
†Signum crucis proprie manus (?) Maroldi[50] filii olim Sammarii.

Original, Pergamene di Montevergine vol. 15, *no.* 91.

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[43] Clementi, *Calendar*, nos. 71, 130.

[44] *Ann. Casinenses*, a. 1194.

[45] In this part of Apulia the year of Our Lord changed at the same time as the indiction in September.

[46] Prov. of Foggia.

[47] Lesina, prov. of Foggia.

[48] Four Sicilian or Salernitan tarens equalled 1 solidus and 60 tarens equalled 1 gold ounce.

[49] Conversano, prov. of Bari.

[50] The last two names are widely separated from the main list of witnesses and from each other.

NOTE AL *PRIVILEGIUM LIBERTATIS* CONCESSO DAI NAPOLETANI AGLI AMALFITANI NEL 1190

Notissimo presso gli storiografi napoletani è il diploma col quale la città di Napoli il 9 maggio 1190 concesse agli Amalfitani dimoranti nella loro città un singolare privilegio di cittadinanza, che fu detto *libertatis*.

L'originale non fu mai veduto da alcuno, ma fin dal secolo XVI se ne rinvennero copie nei processi della R. Camera della Sommaria.

Lo riprodusse integralmente il Summonte nella sua *Historia*,[1] e dopo di lui il Capaccio, il Borrelli, il Tutini ed altri, tra gli antichi,[2] e più recentemente il Camera nella sue *Memorie di Amalfi*.[3]

Le copie conosciute dovettero essere almeno due, perchè nei testi riportati si rinvengono differenze, di cui la più notevole è l'ordine delle ventuno sottoscrizioni, che è diverso tra l'edizione del Summonte e quella del Capaccio e tra le due edizioni del Camera; divario dovuto evidentemente al fatto che le firme dovevano trovarsi in due o più colonne, che i trascrittori riprodussero interpretandone diversamente la precedenza.[4]

Il privilegio comincia con la datazione, ma non reca alcuna intitolazione di sovrano. Segue il solito esordio, dal quale già si scorge che sovrano è il Popolo, di cui la concorde compagine delle funzioni è vera gloria e fastigio della città.

Indi, sempre nell'esordio, a spiegare l'atto che segue, si attesta che le città tanto più divengono illustri quanto più favoriscono l'incremento del commercio.

L'atto s'inizia con l'intitolazione, ove il primo nome è 'Nos Aliernus Cutonus,' senz'alcuna qualifica; al quale fan seguito 'Consules, Comestabuli, Milites et universus Populus egregie civitatis Neapolis.'

Essi, con 'provida et salubri deliberatione Consilii,' in considerazione dell'onore e dell'utilità conferiti alla città dalla dimora dei negozianti e dei banchieri di Scala, di Ravello e degli altri luoghi del Ducato di Amalfi, concedono loro tutte le libertà di cui godevano i cittadini napoletani, con una sola riserva, espressa nelle parole 'salvo in omnibus generali privilegio Neapolis, quod est inter Nobiles et Populum eiusdem civitatis.' E più giù spiega che esso era un 'privilegium libertatis,' e lo magnifica col dire che per tal privilegio essa città 'prefulget.'

Concessero infine ai suddetti mercanti amalfitani di eleggere i propri Consoli tra i loro connazionali residenti in Napoli, i quali dovessero liberamente giudicare

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[1] G. A. Summonte, *Historia della città e regno di Napoli*, ed. 1675, i, 138.

[2] G. C. Capaccio, *Historiae Neapolitanae*, Napoli, 1771, i, 148; C. Borrelli, *Vindex Neapolitanae Nobilitatis*, Napoli, 1653, p. 77; Tutini, *Dell'origine e fondazione de' Seggi*, p. 88, che ne riporta le sole firme.

[3] Il Camera lo riprodusse nella sua prima *Storia della città e costiera d'Amalfi*, Napoli, 1836, p. 279; ma nelle *Memorie stor. dipl. della citta e Ducato d'Amalfi*, (i, 370) lo riportò in forma più corretta, traendolo da altra copia fatta da tal Stefano Porcaccio e collazionata da Luigi de Raimo, Razionale della Sommaria. Ma il Summonte attesta che il documento si trovava in vari processi, specie in un processo tra gli Amalfitani e il R. Fisco contro gli Arrendatori, nel 1566, presso gli atti di Giovan Domenico Sarnetano.

[4] Un'altra copia è nell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli, *Processi antichi*, pand. Comune, no. 2681; ma ha la data errata del 1199.

'secundum veteres bonos usus' tutte le liti che potessero sorgere tra loro, senza alcuna ingerenza delle civiche magistrature napoletane.

L'atto venne corroborato dal sigillo della città e dai sigilli e dalle firme del suddetto Aligerno Cottone e di venti Consoli. E lo stese il chierico Mauro, notaio dell'Arcivescovo di Napoli.

Tenuto costantemente per autentico e messo in notevole rilievo da tutti gli antichi studiosi di cose patrie, fino ai più recenti,[5] fu soltanto da Michelangelo Schipa messa in dubbio la sua autenticità.[6] E i dubbi dell'illustre storico si possono cosí riassumere.

Il conferimento della cittadinanza era una prerogativa sovrana, e l'ingerenza del potere civico si rinviene in tal materia non prima del secolo XIV, ma sempre con l'assenso regio. Qui invece il provvedimento sarebbe stato fatto 'indipendentemente dall'autorità regia, anzi quasi a dispetto di essa,' e a danno del regio fisco.

Oltre a ciò, quando Innocenzo IV nel 1254 fece importanti concessioni agli Amalfitani, citò i precedenti privilegi dei tempi di Ruggiero e di Guglielmo II,[7] senza far cenno di questo atto del 1190; grave indizio questo che esso non fosse mai esistito.

E, aggiungendo a tutto ciò che da due atti della Cancelleria di re Roberto, che lo storico riporta integralmente, risultava che i mercanti di Scala e di Ravello nel 1336 pagavano regolarmente le gabelle, conchiude lo Schipa che la sostanza di tal documento lo lasciava 'peggio che perplesso.'

Primo a difendere il famoso privilegio dai dubbi dell'illustre Maestro fu il Calasso, il quale in una lunga e dotta disamina dell'argomento riconobbe esaurientemente l'autenticità dell'atto.[7bis]

Metterò qui in rilievo alcuni degli argomenti addotti dal Calasso, ai quali pienamente sottoscrivo, aggiungendovene altri; dai quali però trarrò differenti conclusioni, non so se troppo ardite, circa la costituzione della città in quel cruciale momento.

E' esatto che il conferimento della cittadinanza era prerogativa sovrana. Ma chi era qui il sovrano? il nome del Re di Sicilia manca del tutto nell'atto; massima autorità che vi appare è il nudo nome di Aligerno Cottone, e nell'esordio si dice che 'gloria et corona illustrium civitatum est . . . Populi multitudo.'

Vien fatto di chiedersi quale fosse il regime della nostra città in quel momento. E cerchiamone la luce nel quadro sconvolto di quegli anni tormentosi.

Il buon re Guglielmo II era morto senza discendenti il 18 novembre 1189, men che sei mesi prima dell'atto in esame.

Ben presto intorno ai due pretendenti alla successione si erano formate, come suole accadere, due opposte fazioni; delle quali l'una faceva capo a Tancredi Conte di Lecce, figliuolo naturale di Ruggiero, solo vivente del ramo siciliano degli Hauteville, l'altra ad Enrico, figlio dell'imperatore Federico Barbarossa e marito di Costanza, anch'essa figliuola ma legittima di Ruggiero.

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[5] Oltre i già citati autori, v. B. Capasso, 'Il Pactum giurato dal Duca Sergio ai Napoletani,' *Archivio stor. per le prov. Napolet.*, ix, 731 sgg.; A. von Reumont, *Die Carafa von Maddaloni*, Berlino, 1851, i, 115; T. Toeche, *De Henrico VI etc.*, Berlino, 1860, p. 38; G. Yver, *Le commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie méridionale*, Paris, 1903, p. 183.

[6] M. Schipa, 'Contese sociali napoletane nel Medio Evo,' *Arch. stor. napol.*, xxxi, 585.

[7] Capasso, *Histor. diplomat. etc.*, p. 88.

[7bis] F. Calasso, *La legislazione statutaria dell' Italia meridionale*, pp. 94–108.

Matteo Cancelliere e Riccardo, Conte di Acerra e cognato di Tancredi, ne sostennero con la mente e con la spada validamente la parte. A capo dell'altra fazione era Ruggiero Conte di Andria, che sollevò gran parte della Puglia in favore del principe tedesco.

Senza ripetere le notissime alterne vicende di quella cruda lotta, basta rilevare soltanto alcune cose.

Quando fu concesso il privilegio agli Amalfitani la guerra, che poi si trascinò ferocemente per quattro anni, si può dire che non fosse ancora cominciata. Era anzi il momento in cui nulla poteva far prevedere a chi dei due contendenti sarebbe arrisa la vittoria.

Il Conte di Acerra andava assicurando a Tancredi gran parte della Campania e del Principato; ma d'altra parte vicinissima a Napoli era Aversa, dove prevalevano le simpatie per Enrico di Svevia.

Ma in Aversa stessa regnava l'indecisione: è singolare un atto aversano del 15 settembre di quello stesso anno, nel quale il notaio scrisse in fine che non si dichiarava il sovrano 'eo quod, post mortem domini nostri gloriosi regis Guillelmi secundi, ignorabatur quis dominus huic Regno preese deberet; ideo nomen eius et tempus huic documento non est appositum.'[8]

E' evidente quindi che anche a Napoli il sovrano non c'era o almeno nessuno dei due contendenti era considerato tale.

La forma e lo spirito dell'atto riflettono quelli del libero comune, che soltanto in sè stesso riconosce la sovranità. Il 'Populus' che solo appare nell'esordio, il nome di un cittadino, il Cottone, che vi appare come somma autorità; l'intervento dei consoli quali rappresentanti delle classi e delle piazze, ci dicono chiaro che Napoli si era eretta a libero comune. E meglio ce lo conferma quel *privilegium libertatis*, che la città vanta e di cui è gelosa a tal segno da farne riserva, anzi unica riserva, nell' accordare agli Amalfitani le prerogative di cittadini.

Questo privilegio di libertà, di cui purtroppo non conosciamo il testo, doveva essere l'atto costitutivo, lo statuto del comune, concordato dai Nobili e dal Popolo.

Nè vale l'obiezione che soltanto un mese più tardi Tancredi concesse ai Napoletani un larghissimo privilegio, nel quale, fatto salvo il proprio dominio di Re, concesse loro tutte le possibili libertà, e perfino il diritto di coniar moneta.[9]

Analoghi privilegi egli andava concedendo, per ingraziarsele, a molte principali città, quali Gaeta e Barletta.[10] Ma non val tutto ciò a dimostrar falso il privilegio degli Amalfitani, perchè in quei momenti di anarchia bastava un evento politico o militare, che avesse arrecato vantaggio all'una o all'altra delle fazioni, per determinare un mutamento improvviso nell'orientamento politico di una città.

Se Napoli si era eretta in libero comune prima del 9 maggio, è possibile che i progressi del Conte di Acerra, o il passaggio del fiero Roffredo Abbate di Montecassino alla parte di Tancredi, o trattative a noi sconosciute, abbiano indotto i

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[8] A. Gallo, *Codice diplomat. normanno di Aversa*, Napoli, 1926, p. 264.

[9] Questo importante privilegio fu scoperto nel 1883 dall'abbate D. Bernardo Gaetani d'Aragona, insieme col famoso *Pactum* giurato dal Duca Sergio VII ai Napoletani, nel Codice Ottoboniano n. 2940 della Biblioteca Vaticana, e fu pubblicato dal Capasso (*Arch. stor. Napol.*, ix, 733).

[10] *Codex diplomat. Cajetanus*, ii, 340.

Napoletani ad accogliere la protezione di Tancredi; poichè il privilegio di quel sovrano a Napoli non val più di un formale protettorato sopra un libero comune, qualunque potessero essere le riserve mentali del sovrano concedente.

Guardiamo intanto un po' più dall'alto la storia napoletana nell'alto medioevo. Non oso invocare la remota tradizione, troppo lontana, della greca *Neapolis* e del suo regime democratico, quantunque le tradizioni inveterate spesso determinano veri e propri orientamenti nelle aspirazioni dei popoli. Ricorderò invece la storia, più fresca allora, del glorioso Ducato napoletano, libero di fatto dal nominale dominio dell'Impero Bizantino, geloso della sua libertà, che strenuamente difese contro due soverchianti nemici, dalla terra i Longobardi e i Saraceni dal mare; e più tardi, finchè gli bastarono le forze, contro i Normanni, di cui accettò la sovranità soltanto quando non ebbe più scampo.

In tale drammatica agonia s'inserisce il *Pactum* giurato da Sergio VII ai Napoletani tra il 1129 e il 1134.[11] Nel quale con una sorprendente analogia con quanto apprendiamo dal privilegio degli Amalfitani, si parla di una 'societas' intervenuta tra Nobili, Mediani e Popolani. Ed anche qui si concedono libertà e prerogative, minori di quelle concesse da Tancredi, ma sensibili per quel tempo.

Mentre declina il Ducato, come più tardi nel 1190, l'annichilimento del potere sovrano sospinge il popolo napoletano verso questa aspirazione alla libertà, all'autonomia, che esso vanta nel 1190 come 'gloria et corona.'

Ma non basta. Passano alcuni anni e, morto immaturamente lo spietato Imperatore germanico, durante la minore età di Federico suo figlio, nella confusione cagionata dal viaggio d'Innocenzo III in Sicilia, ancora una volta i Napoletani si elessero un Capitano in persona di Goffredo di Montefusco, congiunto di quello Aligerno Cottone, che n'era stato a capo diciassette anni prima.[12] E quando nel 1250, morto Federico, Innocenzo IV prese possesso del Regno, ancora una volta sotto la protezione di quel Pontefice Napoli si eresse a libero comune e al suo capo, Riccardo Filangieri, che aveva per moglie una nipote di quello stesso Aligerno, die' il titolo, fino allora taciuto, di Podestà. E infine, alla morte di Corrado IV, la gesta si rinnovella sotto il podestà Bertolino Tavernerio di Parma.[13]

In questa serie di tentativi di autonomia ogni qual volta il potere regio venga improvvisamente meno, non saprei vedere se non una aspirazione, che va oltre le direttive politiche suggerite da diversi momenti storici; perchè pare che trovi le sue radici in un carattere inveterato, insofferente di giogo, raffigurato nell'antica leggenda del cavallo sfrenato, al quale Corrado avrebbe imposto il morso.[14]

Che poi il privilegio agli Amalfitani non sia stato citato da papa Innocenzo nel rinnovare i privilegi a quella città, e che gli stessi Amalfitani pagassero le gabelle al tempo di re Roberto, son due cose precisamente spiegate dal fatto che, trattandosi dell'atto di un libero comune, che fu poco dopo sommerso dalla conquista di Enrico VI, esso di fatto rimase inefficace e nessuno più lo ebbe in considerazione.

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[11] Attribuito dal Capasso, che per primo lo pubblicò, a Sergio IV ed all'anno 1030, fu dalla sana critica del Brandileone assegnato all'ultimo Duca, Sergio VII, e agli estremi anni del Ducato (*Sulla data del Pactum giurato dal Duca Sergio*, Torino, 1890).

[12] Riccardi de S. Germano, *Chron. priora*, Napoli, 1888, p. 71; Schipa, 'Contese sociali,' *Arch. stor. Napol.*, xxxi, 593.

[13] G. Del Giudice, *Riccardo Filangieri*, Napoli, 1893, p. 210 sg.; Salimbene, *Chron.* ed. di Parma, p. 232.

[14] B. Croce nella sua *Storia del regno di Napoli* (Bari, 1925) espone nella profonda valutazione dei fatti, questo carattere dei Napoletani di allora, i quali 'libertati invigilabant civitatis, quippe antiquorum morum sequebantur honestatem, mori prius famis morte malebant quam sub nefandi Regis potestate colla submittere,' come scriveva Falcone Beneventano (Del Re, *Cronisti*, i, 228). E meglio, nella Introduzione dello stesso volume il Croce cosí si esprime: 'Qui, anzitutto visse sempre l'idea del Comune, vi ebbero sempre vigore i *iura civitatis*, i diritti che competono a tutti i cittadini in quanto tali' (p. 2).

D'altronde, mettendo da parte la storia e considerando il documento dal punto di vista diplomatico, è precisamente la sua singolarità che ne rafforza l'autenticità.

E infatti, qualora in tempi più tardi i mercanti amalfitani avessero voluto crearsi privilegi d'immunità dalle gabelle, non certo a quella forma di atto avrebbero fatto ricorso nella falsificazione, bensì al diploma di un sovrano come al solo atto che potesse avere efficacia nella normale vita del Regno; laddove un atto di un effimero regime comunale nessun valore poteva avere, come in realtà non ebbe.

Un altro argomento in favore dell'autenticità del privilegio sarebbe quello addotto dal Camera, secondo il quale esso sarebbe stato confermato da Federico II nel 1222, da Innocenzo IV nel 1257, da Carlo III nel 1382, da Ferrante I nel 1459 e nel 1481, da Ferrante II nel 1495 e da Consalvo di Cordova nel 1503.[15] Senonchè qui lo storico di Amalfi ha visto nelle formole generiche dei capitoli confermati ai mercanti in Napoli quel che non c'è; poichè l'atto in questione vi sarebbe stato compreso se in vigore, ma non essendolo, non poteva essere confermato. Anzi, gli atti angioini pubblicati dallo Schipa e i processi citati del secolo XVI, ove il privilegio fu riprodotto, dimostrano precisamente l'opposto, cioè che di quel privilegio gli Amalfitani non ebbero mai più conferma.

Avendo dunque per autentico l'atto, esso ci dà interessanti notizie, non soltanto sulla fisonomia politica di quell'effimero regime, ma ancora sulla costituzione sociale della città in quel tempo.

Siamo precisamente in quel periodo in cui il comune si afferma, e non soltanto nell'Italia settentrionale e centrale, ma anche nel mezzogiorno, ed in ispecie nella Puglia.

Ma anche nelle città della Campania, dove lo sviluppo del commercio e delle arti aveva creato facoltose classi mediane, già si era determinata, pur sotto l'egida di un Duca, la formazione del comune.

Nel privilegio in esame esso appare già nelle sue più notevoli caratteristiche. La prima autorità, Aligerno Cottone, pur non qualificato, ne è il *Potestas*. Con lui reggono la cosa pubblica i *Consules*, che rappresentano tutte le magistrature. Sovrano è il *Consilium*, il parlamento cioè, nel quale intervengono tutte le classi civiche. E le classi presentano già il loro carattere associativo. E gli stessi Consoli sono tratti dalle classi, forse in diversa misura.[16] Ed il comune ha già il suo emblema, espresso nel sigillo.

Ma quali erano le classi o gli ordini civici napoletani nell'alto medioevo? Se si guardano le fonti, la più varia nomenclatura si succede di tempo in tempo.

Una delle lettere scritte da Cassiodoro ai Napoletani in nome di re Teodorico è indirizzata *Honoratis, Possessoribus et Curialibus*. Una lettera di San Gregorio Magno ai medesimi, del 592, è diretta *Ordini et Plebi consistenti Neapoli*. Ma l'istesso Pontefice pochi anni dopo, nel 600, si rivolse *Nobilibus et Civibus Neapolitanis*.

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[15] Camera, i, 371 sg.

[16] Circa la partecipazione del Popolo al governo, non tutti sono di accordo. Il Tutini riconosce che il Popolo partecipava al governo della città e che i Consoli fossero eletti parte dai Nobili e parte dal Popolo (*op. cit.*, p. 88). Duramente si oppose a tale opinione Carlo de Lellis, che ritenne i Consoli eletti dai soli Nobili (*Apologia contro D. Camillo Tutini ecc.*, in Ms. della Biblioteca Naz. di Napoli X. B. 25).

Giovanni VIII nell'878 scrisse *Omnibus eximiis Iudicibus et universo Populo Neapolitanae civitatis.* Il già citato *Pactum* fu dal Duca Sergio VII, intorno al 1130, giurato *Nobilibus Neapolitanis et omnibus hominibus Medianis et omnibus hominibus Neapoli habitantibus.* Un diploma di Guglielmo II del 1167 si rivolge *Ordini et Populo civitatis Neapolis.*[17] Il privilegio del 1190 in esame parla di *Consules*, *Comestabuli*, *Milites et universus Populus*, ma accennando poi allo statuto comunale, *generale privilegium Neapolis*, lo dice concordato *inter Nobiles et Populum.* E quando infine giunse a Napoli Innocenzo IV nel 1253, egli fu, secondo un'antica cronaca, ricevuto dal Podestà, *una cum Deputatis Nobilium et Popularium.*[18]

A parte la lettera di Cassiodoro, che rispecchia ancora la costituzione del municipio romano, in tutte le locuzioni posteriori bisogna distinguere i vocaboli che si referivano alle classi sociali da quelli che indicavano le categorie dei funzionari o quelle di una medesima classe.

Le frasi *Ordo et Plebs*, *Nobiles et cives*, *Iudices et Populus*, *Nobiles et Populus*, *Ordo et Populus*, adoperate tra il secolo VI ed il XIII, sono tutte sinonimi e si riferiscono alle due grandi classi *Nobili e Popolo.*

E' soltanto nel Patto del Duca Sergio che appaiono i Mediani, quella classe cioè fatta di mercanti e di artigiani, che altrove si disse *popolo grasso*, e da cui ebbe vita la borghesia. E i *Consules*, i *Comestabuli*, i *Milites*, col *Potestas* a capo, che appaiono nel nostro documento, non sono altrettante classi sociali, ma sono le varie categorie delle autorità comunali.

Una nuova classe era sorta intanto fin dal tempo di Ruggiero, che aveva creato feudatari i nobili napoletani, più di carattere politico che sociale, ed era quella dei *Barones.* Mentre bisogna venire a tempi assai più tardi per trovare gli *Artifices.*[19]

I *Consules*, così detti per una classica reminiscenza, forse per un ideale attaccamento alla romanità, nulla di comune avevano coi Consoli antichi. Essi erano qui i reggitori della cosa pubblica, giudici ed amministratori ad un tempo; ed erano eletti dal *Consilium* o *Concilium*, pubblico parlamento composto dei cittadini di ogni classe. E questo Consiglio era il potere sommo del comune. Difatti il Podestà, i Consoli, i Comestabuli, i Militi, il Popolo concedevano il privilegio in seguito alla deliberazione del parlamento, 'provida et salubri deliberatione Consilii.'

Poichè in questo atto le classi nominate son due, *Nobiles* e *Populus*, deve ritenersi che i Mediani fossero ancora, per costituzione se non di fatto, tutt'uno col Popolo. E perciò i Consoli dovevano essere scelti parte dai Nobili e parte dal Popolo. E ciò a differenza di quanto era avvenuto nell'atto costitutivo del Duca Sergio, che dal punto di vista sociale fu un deciso trionfo dei Nobili sul Popolo, essendo rimasti nelle mani dei primi tutti quanti i poteri; condizione sociale rimasta forse quasi inalterata durante il dominio dei Re Normanni, i quali avevano soltanto sostituito l'antico *Dux* o *Magister Militum* col *Compalatius* (*Comes Palatii*), rappresentante il regio potere.[20]

I Consoli di cui si leggono le firme nel privilegio degli Amalfitani del 1190 sono venti; ma essi non erano al completo, perchè nella formola di corroborazione è detto che l'atto era stato 'subscriptione plurium de nobis . . . roboratum.' Ed è ovvio che qualcuno potesse essere impedito di recarsi al Consiglio.

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[17] Tutini, p. 78 sgg.

[18] Tutini, p. 89.

[19] Schipa, in *Arch. stor. Napol.*, xxxi, 407 e 423.

[20] Capasso, in *Arch. stor. Napol.*, ix, 725.

Ma quanti erano per costituzione? Se una congettura è lecito fare, nel quadro dell'ordinamento civico e della consistenza urbanistica, essendo la città suddivisa in 29 quartieri, che si dissero anche Piazze o Sedili dal luogo di adunanza dei *nobiliores homines* di ciascun quartiere, dovrebbe trarsene la conseguenza che altrettanti fossero i Consoli.[21] Ma nulla ci induce ad averlo per certo.

Che essi fossero eletti sì dai Nobili come dai Popolari lo hanno ammesso quasi tutti gli storici, fuor che Carlo de Lellis, il quale nella sua 'Apologia' contro il Tutini ritenne che i Consoli fossero eletti esclusivamente tra i Nobili dei Sedili.[22]

A me sembra che si possa senz'altro affermare che i Consoli venissero eletti anche tra i popolari, quantunque non se ne possa determinare con esattezza la proporzione.

Dei venti Consoli firmati, erano appartenenti ai Sedili i seguenti undici:
Giovanni de Griffis (Sedile di Porto).
Giovanni Falconario (Sedile di Nido).
B. Domini Boni (Sedile di Porto).
Giovanni Crispano (Sedile di Capuana).
Marco de Lico di Crescenzio (Sedile di Forcella).
Giovanni Boccatorto (Sed. di S. Gennaro in Diaconia).
Donadio Mormile (Sedile di Portanova).
Giovanni Pignatelli (Sedile di Nido).
Giovanni Comina (Sedile di Capuana).
Sergio Motula (Sedile d'Arco).
Pietro Pacozza (Sedile dei Saliti).[23]

Gli altri parrebbero del ceto mediano o popolare.

Vien fatto ora di chiedersi chi fosse questo Aligerno Cottone, che spunta improvvisamente nella nostra storia come capo del comune napoletano.

Il Capasso lo ritiene il Compalazzo del tempo, cioè, come si è detto, il regio governatore. Egli invece, come si è visto, era la suprema autorità della città; ma la sua autorità non procedeva dal Re, che in quel momento non c'era, bensì dal Popolo che lo aveva eletto. Era quindi il Podestà.

Egli non era napoletano, essendo costante consuetudine che alla suprema carica comunale potesse accedere soltanto un forestiero. Ed è ben probabile che fosse del Ducato di Amalfi, sia perchè gli Amalfitani ne ottennero un così largo privilegio, sia pure perchè, come dirò meglio in seguito, alla sua famiglia furono concessi feudi in quel Ducato. Si direbbe quindi un 'homo novus,' probabilmente uscito dal ceto mediano.

L'elezione di Aligerno dovè precedere di poco il privilegio del 9 maggio 1190.

Quando Enrico VI, successo al padre Federico il 10 giugno successivo, venne l'anno appresso in Italia e dopo di essere stato incoronato da Celestino III il 15 aprile 1191, venne ad assediare Napoli (maggio-agosto), Aligerno ne dovè preparare la difesa, che fu validamente sostenuta nel campo militare da Riccardo Conte d'Acerra.[24]

Ammalatosi nell'agosto, l'Imperatore dovette essere trasportato a Capua, mentre la flotta genovese e le forze pisane, alleate di Enrico, sotto la pressione dell'ammiraglio Margarito, che sosteneva la parte di Tancredi, si ritirarono, lasciando inviolata la città. Fu allora che il nome di Aligerno riappare nelle fonti, e sempre come capo del comune napoletano.

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[21] Tutini, p. 94.

[22] Bibl. Naz. di Nap., Ms. X. B. 25, ff. 151 e 161.

[23] Tutini, p. 97 sgg.

[24] Ricc. da S. Germano, *Chron.*, p. 65.

L'imperatrice Costanza, che il marito aveva lasciata in Salerno mentre assediava Napoli, partito lui, fu dai Salernitani consegnata a Tancredi, a Palermo.[25] Lì il Cancelliere Matteo e Sibilia, figlia del Conte d'Acerra, decisero di mandarla a Napoli per tenervela prigioniera nel castello del Salvatore, che essendo su un'isola sembrava ben adatto a custodire una preda di tanto rilievo.

Pietro da Eboli, accanito sostenitore di Enrico VI, coprendo di contumelie il Cancelliere, che chiama 'bigamus sacerdos,' così si esprime[26]:

> Scribitur urbano pagina parva viro:
> Hanc, Alierne Comes, munito carcere serves;
> Nil super hoc Regi gratius esse putes.
> Protinus Augustam, Cerrea praecipiente,
> Ad te, Parthenope, remus et aura vehit.

E sotto una delle rappresentazioni figurate del codice di Pietro si legge: 'Scribit bigamus sacerdos Alierno Neapolitano ut Imperatricem in castro Salvatoris ad mare bene custodiat.'[27] Dove il 'bigamus sacerdos' è il Cancelliere Matteo, 'Augustam' è Costanza, 'Cerrea' è Sibilia d'Acerra, e il 'munito carcere' è il castello del Salvatore, oggi Castel dell'Ovo; dove Aligerno, che si teneva tuttora fedele a Tancredi, avrebbe dovuto custodire l'imperatrice Costanza.

Dall'ultimo verso 'Ad te, Parthenope, remus et aura vehit' parrebbe che Costanza fosse da Palermo partita per mare alla volta di Napoli.

Ma le cronache concordemente ci dicono che Tancredi, per intercessione del Papa, la fece liberare e la rimandò in Germania.[28] E perciò, anche se Costanza divenne prigioniera di Aligerno, ciò fu per tempo assai breve.

Intanto, partito Enrico, Riccardo Conte di Fondi, che ne aveva seguito la parte, temendo la vendetta dei fautori di Tancredi, fuggì; ed allora il Re concesse quella importante Contea ad un fratello di Aligerno.[29]

Era costui Pietro Cottone, e tenne quella contea per due anni e più, fin quando, ritornato l'Imperatore, ne riprese possesso l'antico padrone.[30]

Poco dopo, il 23 agosto 1194, cadde anche Napoli, essendone tuttora Podestà Aligerno.[31]

La fortuna che ebbero dopo la caduta di Napoli Aligerno e la sua famiglia fa nascere il sospetto che egli fosse stato piuttosto remissivo nella resa della città. E difatti sotto l'Imperatore alemanno le fortune della famiglia di Aligerno, che era stato apertamente partigiano di Tancredi, crebbero anzichè declinare, come sarebbe stato ragionevole.

In una lettera d'Innocenzo III ad Anselmo, Arcivescovo di Napoli, si legge: 'Johannes, filius quondam Comitis Alierni, Ecclesiae tuae clericus, plus potentia patris sui quam praedecessoris tui spontanea voluntate, ultra viginti ecclesias in civitate Neapolitana et in maiori Ecclesia beneficium maximum proponitur obtinere.'[32]

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[25] Ricc. da S. Germano, *Chron.*, p. 66.

[26] Pietro da Eboli, in Del Re, *Cronisti ecc.*, *Normanni*, p. 425.

[27] Pietro da Eboli, in Del Re, *note*, p. 449.

[28] Ricc. da S. Germano, *Chron.*, *l. c.*; Pietro da Eboli, *l. c.*

[29] Ricc. da S. Germano, *l. c.*

[30] Ricc. da S. Germano, p. 67.

[31] Caffaro, *Annali*, a. 1194.

Ed il fratello Pietro dall'imperatrice Costanza ottenne in feudo le città di Lettere e Gragnano. E quando nel 1207 fu decisa le distruzione di Cuma, allo stesso Pietro ne fu affidato l'incarico.[33]

Uomo sicuramente abile, Aligerno seppe così bene barcamenarsi in quegli anni terribili che seguirono la morte di Guglielmo II che, tenutosi in panna nel primo periodo d'incertezza, accolse la protezione di Tancredi nel momento della sua maggiore fortuna, e infine seppe accordarsi con la parte dell'Imperatore prima che fosse troppo tardi, sì da assicurare sotto il dominio svevo la fortuna della sua famiglia.

RICCARDO FILANGIERI

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[32] DiMeo, *Annali*, xi, 56.

[33] Minieri Riccio, *Cenni stor. su Cuma*, p. 20; Camera, *op. cit.*, p. 666.

IL DIPLOMA

In nomine Dei eterni, anno Incarnationis dominice millesimo centesimo nonagesimo, die nono mensis maij VIII indictionis.

Quia gloria et corona illustrium civitatum est diversorum officiorum concors Populi multitudo, et quanto in diversis mercimoniis et variis utilitatibus vivendi sibi invicem et aliis hominibus quorum frequentatur accessus iustius copiosiusque ministratur, eo celebrioris nominis civitates ipse et maioris opinionis divulgatione clarescunt.

Idcirco Nos Aliernus Cutonus, Consules, Comestabuli, Milites et universus Populus egregie civitatis Neapolis, provida et salubri deliberatione Consilii, actendentes quid honoris, quid commodi nobilissime civitati Neapolis, vos viri prudentissimi Scalenses Ravellenses et ceteri negotiatores et campsores de Ducatu Amalfie conferatis, vobis vestrisque heredibus et successoribus in predicta civitate Neapolis habitantibus, salvo in omnibus generali privilegio Neapolis quod est inter Nobiles et Populum eiusdem civitatis, concedimus authorizamus et in perpetuum hoc speciali privilegio confirmamus ut, sicut ista Civitas Neapolis privilegio libertatis prefulget, ita set vos negotiatore campsores sive apothecarii de prefato Ducatu Amalfie, vestrique heredes seu successores in hac civitate habitantes, vel omnes qui de predicto Ducatu Amalfie ut negotationes exerceant in hanc eandem civitatem ad habitandum seu ad apothecas tenedum venerint, eadem omnimoda libertate in perpetuum gaudeatis, ut nulla conditio de personis vel rebus vestris seu heredum vel successorum vestrorum negotiatorum in Neapoli habitantium requiratur, sicut non requiritur de civibus Neapolitanis, salvo honore ipsius civitatis, in libero et franco usu vestrorum negotiorum.

Insuper hoc eodem privilegio concedimus et confirmamus vobis vestrisque heredibus seu successoribus, negotiatoribus campsoribus apothecariis de memorato Ducatu Amalfie in Neapoli habitantibus vel habitaturis ad negotiationes exercendas, ut liceat vobis vel eis in perpetuum de genere vestro inter vos Consules statuere ac mutare in civitate Neapolis, de illis qui Neapoli manserint, sicut vobis vestrisque heredibus seu successoribus in civitate ista negotiationes exercentibus paruerit expedire; quorum arbitrio et judicio, secundum veteres bonos usus, vestras causas sive lites que inter vos vel eos emerserint terminentur. Nec liceat Civitati vel alteri pro ea, nobis seu heredibus vel successoribus nostris, vos seu heredes vel successores vestros de predicto Ducatu Amalfie, in civitate ista manentes seu negotia exercentes, de veteri et bono usu vestro seu consuetudine trahere vel mutare; sed debeamus vos in omnibus bonis usibus vestris et in Consulatu vestro in perpetuum conservare; et vos gubernatione et judicio vestrorum Consulum tantum in perpetuum vivere debeatis.

Et ut hoc privilegium nostre concessionis omnimoda et perpetua firmitate letetur, sigillo Civitatis et Consulum ac subscriptione plurium de nobis, communi Consilio et voluntate civitatis Neapolis, est roboratum.

Actum Neapoli per Maurum, clericum Sancte Neapolitane Ecclesie et notarium domini Sergii venerabilis Neapolitani Archiepiscopi, anno die mense et indictione superius prenotatis.

Ego Aliernus Cutonus subscripsi.
Ego Joannes de Griffis (Consul) subscripsi.
Ego Joannes Falconarius Consul subscripsi.
Ego B. Domini Boni Consul subscripsi.
Ego Joannes Crispanus Consul subscripsi.
Ego Marcus de Lico de Crescentio Consul subscripsi.
Ego B. de Marcodeo Consul subscripsi.
Ego Joannes Boccatortus Consul subscripsi.
Ego Donadeus Mormilis Consul subscripsi.
Ego Stephanus Stelmatius Consul subscripsi.
Ego Joannes Pignatellus Consul subscripsi.
Ego Joannes Comina Consul subscripsi.
Ego Joannes Theofilus Consul subscripsi.
Ego Sergius Motula Consul subscripsi.
Ego Petrus Pacozza Consul subscripsi.
Ego Petrus de Arbata Consul subscripsi.
Ego Berardus Gizzo Consul subscripsi.
Ego Iordanus Imperator Consul subscripsi.
Ego Georgius (o Gregorius) Bais (o Bajo) Consul subscripsi.
Ego Stephanus Spada Consul subscripsi.
Ego Joannes Joannis Rudicelli Consul subscripsi.

NUOVI TESTI DI LEGGENDE AGIOGRAFICHE BENEVENTANE

Tra i manoscritti conservati nella Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Benevento esiste un lezionario contenente parecchie leggende agiografiche beneventane che è rimasto sino ad oggi sconosciuto.

Benchè relativamente recente, questo manoscritto è però molto importante per più d'un titolo. Anzitutto perchè esso è indubbiamente copia immediata di antichissimi codici, poi perchè ci fornisce il principio e la fine della leggenda della *Translatio* dei dodici Fratelli Martiri, pubblicata già dal Giovardi acefala ed apoda: infine perchè ci offre una leggenda riferentesi a San Giovenale martire, di cui, come vedremo, nulla pare sia mai stato pubblicato.

Il codice di scrittura secentesca o settecentesca, è cartaceo, legato in pergamena, costa di 40 fogli, di cui però otto sono completamente bianchi, e misura cm. 26 1/2 × 20 1/2. Sulla copertina una mano posteriore ha riprodotto il titolo della prima leggenda. Il codice è stato scritto da due mani, indipendenti, e press'a poco contemporanee.

Alla prima mano appartengono le leggende:

(1) f. 2–4: *Translatio corporum Sanctorum duodecim Fratrum ab Apulia in Beneventum tempore quo Dominus Arrechus.*

(2) f. 5–6: *Miracula Sancti Juvenalis Martiris.*

(3) f. 6–10: *Vita et passio Sanctorum martyrum Donati, Felicis et Fratrum.*

(4) f. 10–18: *Vita Sancti Mercurii martyris passi sub Decio Imperatore.*

(5) f. 20–26: *Notizia intorno alla vita di S. Barbato cittadino, vescovo e protettore di Benevento.* Questo titolo è stato apposto dalla seconda mano, che aggiunge: *scritta con mille errori di ortografia, specialmente di storia.*

Alla seconda mano appartiene, oltre un brevissimo

(6) f. 27: *Frammento Giuridico*: la leggenda sul

(7) f. 34–39: *Martyrium S. Januarii Episcopi Beneventi et Martyris.* Ex M.S. Vaticano, num. 1608, pag. 105.

Questa è l'unica indicazione di provenienza fornitaci dal codice. Quest'ultima trascrizione presenta qua e là delle lacune dovute a difficoltà di lettura. Le abbreviazioni dell'originale vi sono del resto regolarmente risolte, eccetto alcune poche comunissime. Invece le trascrizioni dovute alla prima mano abbondano di abbreviazioni, che riproducono probabilmente quelle dell'originale.

I

La Traslazione dei Corpi dei Dodici Fratelli Martiri

Il testo di questa *Translatio* è stato pubblicato da Vittorio Giovardi nei suoi *Acta Passionis et Translationis Sanctorum Martyrum Mercurii ac XII Fratrum*, Romae, MDCCXXX (p. 118 ss.) e tratto da un codice manoscritto di origine beneventana e non anteriore al secolo XII ex.

Il nostro testo è sostanzialmente quello del Giovardi ma le sue varianti sono piuttosto numerose. Se poi talvolta peggiora la lezione del Giovardi, qualche volta però la corregge. Ma ciò che ne costituisce l'importanza è, come abbiamo già detto, la possibilità che esso ci offre di completare quello del Giovardi. In verità anche il nostro testo è internamente mutilo. A giudicare dalla numerazione delle lezioni si direbbe che manchi la undecima, poichè dalla 10 si passa alla 12. In realtà la lezione mancante è la nona, cioè quella che avrebbe dovuto contenere l'omelia del venerabile Bruno, vescovo di Segni, sul tratto del Vangelo di San Matteo : *Ecce nos reliquimus omnia.* Il copista dopo avere accennato a questa omelia ha continuato senz'altro la trascrizione della lezione seguente, sia che stimasse quella estranea alla narrazione dei fatti, sia che il suo originale mancasse di qualche foglio.

Il Giovardi, nel suo volume (p. 90 ss.) riproduce un Carme in onore dei dodici Fratelli Martiri attribuito ad Alfano, arcivescovo di Salerno, autore anche di parecchi componimenti poetici e di una *Passio S. Christinae virginis et martyris*,[1] e morto a quanto pare, nel 1085.[2]

Questo Carme segue passo passo le vicende del martirio dei dodici fratelli, così come esse vengono narrate nella *Passio SS. Martyrum Donati Felicis et Fratrum eorum*, che si trova anche presso lo stesso Giovardi (pag. 77 ss.) e non si parla affatto della traslazione dei loro corpi eseguita dal principe Arichi. A questo Carme segue però un altro componimento poetico che, sia o non sia dello stesso autore o della stessa epoca, non è stato certamente scritto nella stessa occasione, essendo stato composto il primo per invito di un certo Roffrido e il secondo per invito di un certo abbate Matteo. Questo secondo Carme è inoltre esclusivamente dedicato alla traslazione dei corpi dei Martiri per opera di Arichi, ed è da questo Carme che dipende direttamente dalla quinta lezione in poi il nostro testo, che ne riproduce non solo le espressioni ma perfino dei versi interi, dissimulandoli tra la prosa.

Questo Carme, come gli Atti della traslazione, come altre leggende agiografiche e specialmente i *Miracula S. Juvenalis*, sembrano essere opera di monaci benedettini, preoccupati di esaltare il Monastero e la Chiesa di Santa Sofia, che loro appartengono, di dimostrare la legittimità dei loro considerevoli possedimenti, facendone risalire la maggior parte all'epoca del principe Arichi e d'indurre i fedeli a non mostrarsi meno generosi dei loro padri. Dal prologo del Carme di Alfano si desume che esso è stato composto per invito di un certo Roffrido.

Dal Giovardi appare che questi versi sono stati dedicati *Ad Dominum Roffridum Monachum*, ma non dice nè chi sia stato questo monaco, nè donde abbia egli tratta questa notizia. Più probabile, mi sembra, identificare questo Roffredo con un arcivescovo di Benevento di questo nome, e precisamente con quello stesso arcivescovo Roffredo che invita un certo prete Martino a narrare per iscritto la traslazione delle ossa di San Bartolomeo da Lipari a Benevento, avvenuta nell'838, al tempo del principe Sicardo.

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[1] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, x, Anecdota Ughelliana, pp. 47 ss.

[2] *Ibid.*, vii, 550.

Ora di Roffredi, arcivescovi di Benevento, ve ne sono due, uno dal 1076 al 1107; l'altro dal 1119 al 1130.[3]

Crediamo che il Roffrido, alla cui epoca si può attribuire la composizione del carme, sui XII fratelli martiri possa essere il primo di questi due prelati.[4]

Ora se collochiamo all'epoca dell'arcivescovo Roffredo la composizione del carme, attribuito ad Alfano, il secondo carme che narra la traslazione dei XII Martiri essendo evidentemente posteriore ad esso, il nostro rifacimento prosastico, che da questo dipende, non può che essere più recente ancora. Anzi l'accenno che questo contiene a San Bartolomeo potrebbe far pensare che il culto di questo Santo avesse in quel tempo particolare risalto, come è probabile avvenisse dopo che nel 1112 si ebbe cominciato a costruire una nuova e grandiosa basilica in suo onore.[5]

Così dall'estremo *terminus a quo*, l'anno 838, che viene segnato dalla menzione di San Bartolomeo, dall'epoca cioè in cui, per opera del principe Sicardo, avvenne la traslazione del corpo di questo Santo a Benevento, possiamo discendere sin verso la metà del secolo XII.

Che se poi dobbiamo ammettere, nel nostro testo, la presenza di un' omelia del venerabile Brunone vescovo di Segni, che si ritrova nel testo del Giovardi e che è indicata nel nostro con le parole: *Homilia venerabilis*, che precedono la lacuna sopra lamentata, è chiaro che l'attuale redazione della *Translatio* non possa essere anteriore alla fine del secolo XII.

Riproduciamo intanto le parti ancora inedite, cioè il principio e la fine della *Translatio*, secondo la lezione del codice beneventano da noi rinvenuto.

(f.2. *r.*) : *Translatio Corporum Sanctorum duodecim fratrum ab Apulia in Beneventum tempore quo, Dominus Arrechus.*

LECTIO PRIMA

Sapientissimus, et Gloriosissimus quintus decimus Princeps cunctorum Longobardorum moderabatur habenas plura ei Deus omnipotens bona contulit, insuper et multa Sanctorum Corpora in samnium[6] transvehenda concessit; inter que corpora beatorum Martirum Iesu Christi Domini duodecim fratrum auro, topacioque cariora propitius est elargitus, et quoniam valde iucundus est, et salubre tam presentibus quam futuris, quae facta noscuntur eorum armariolo mentis infigere, et eorum memoriam ipsorum cordibus commendare, qualiter supradictorum corpora gloriosorum duodecim beneventane urbi concesserit (bonorum omnium elargitor) fideli, ac literatorio stylo de ore volumus enarrare. Igitur dum prefatus, princeps die, noctuque in lege Domini meditaretur, et ea, quae Dei sunt, indesinenter mellifluo gutture nominaret, ac semper prudenti animo evolveret, qualiter urbem quam regebat propensim exaltaret, ac donis perpetuis ditaret, cepit acie mentis ad

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[3] Cfr. *Falconis Beneventani Chronicon*, ap. Muratori, *R. I. SS.*, v, 82, 94 ss., e Marii de Vipera, *Chronologia Episcoporum et Archiepiscoporum Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Beneventanae*, Napoli, 1626, pp. 93–98, 101–103.

[4] Contemporaneo dell'arcivescovo Roffredo I fu un altro Roffredo che in un documento del 1113 firma: 'Ego Roffridus Diaconus, necnon et Bibliothecarius et Archipresbyter' (*Chron. Ben. Mon. S. Sophiae*, apud Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, x, Anecdota, p. 511). In un altro documento si legge: 'in praesentia Domini Roffridi Reverendiss. Archiepiscopi Praesulis, et Domini Roffridi Archipresbyteri et sagacissimi Bibliothecarii ejusdem Beneventanae Sedis' (*ibid.*, p. 550).

[5] 'Hoc anno (1112) inceptum est aedificium, vel aedificari Oratorium Sancti Bartholomaei Apostoli' (*Falconis Ben. Chronicon*, ap. Muratori, *R.I. SS.*, v, 83). La costruzione di questo tempio durò molto a lungo; cfr. Stefano Borgia, *Memorie istoriche della pontificia città di Benevento*, i (Roma, 1763), p. 309, n. 1.

[6] Corretto su *samniam.*

animum revocare psalmigraphi versiculum, quo timorem, ac Domino sapientiam cunctis fidelibus pariter commendavit, ubi ait, initium sapientie timor Domini et cetera, usque omnibus facientibus animo gestiebat; itaque princeps (semper cum honore, et gloria nominandus) que cogitaverat modis omnibus adimplere.

LECTIO 2ª

Nam cum eximius Dux iste esset in Domino timoratus, ut ostenderet se sapientiam ac timorem Domini cordis intimo possidere Beneventi templum divine sapientie ad instar illius Iustiniani a novo fundamine erigi precipit, quod greco vocabulo nominatur sophia; ut Ipse, qui est Alfa et omega, esset initium et finis eius operis, ac devotionis, hoc itaque precipue faciebat ut fundamentum, et firmamentum suae in Christum intemeratae fidei cunctis prosperis denotaret in fundamentum videlicet illud de quo ait Apostolos, fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere, preter id, quod po . . . .

LECTIO 11ª

. . . que tam gloriosi apostoli Bartholomaei corpore, et etiam multorum martirum confessorum, et virginum pretiosis corporis adornaris, et bis senoni pignoribus singulari privilegio gloriose beatis. Nam Roma totius mundi caput secum bene actum ducere, si venditis omnibus, posset aliquo modo comparare.

LECTIO 12ª

Gaude ergo, Benevente, Civitas gloriosa, gaude quoniam gaudium a Deo, et sanctis martiribus suscepisti, gaude quia ipsorum gloriosa corpora accipere meruisti. Gaude quoniam eorum meritis ab aemulis semper tuta persistis, quid (f.5 *r.*) quid est, o civitas gloriosa Dei, quod Dominus Deus tuus facere tibi debuerit, et non fecerit? Non ne tantis te pretiosis muneribus dotavit? Non ne te bene invenire fecit, unde, et Beneventus, idest bene inventus nomineris? Te terrarum planities dilatavit, frumento, et vino, et oleo adimplevit, et post haec omnia, tibi ut salutem utramque concederet, tantis corporibus sacris te adornavit. Unde merito decet te semper devotius gloriari, cum Dominus omnipotens athletam suum, principemque tibi Mercurium concesserit gloriosum. In Domino igitur exulta samnia gloriosa, quae corpus ipsius possides, qui ob vindicandam iniuriam virginis filii et specialiter ad interimendum apostatam directus propterea aliquo modo dubitare non debes, ut qui generali ecclesie clementer subvenit, tibi in cunctis periculis non debeat subvenire, ac propensius tuas iniurias vindicare. Caveas tamen ne omnipotenti Deo, et sanctis eius domus exasperans efficiaris, imo pre electarum a Deo civitatum Hierosolimitane videlicet, Constantinopolitane, et Liparitane, excidii recorderis, ut Jesu Christo, et sanctis eius in terra quiescentibus deserviens ab inimicis omnibus tam animarum quam corporum eruaris, gaudiisque aeternis valeas cum electis admisceri. Translata igitur sunt sanctorum gloriosorum martirum duodenorum fratrum corpora, qua diversis erant locis exposita a glorioso principe Arreccho, ceu superius est pertractatum pro sua, tuorumque salute, pro civium defensione, et patrie tutela, summo cum gaudio totius populi Beneventum, et in ecclesia sancte Sophie, et sub uno altari decenter composita. Anno Domini septingentesimo sexagesimo indictione 13ª ut qui ex uno patre, unaque matre extiterant propagati, utero uno baiulati, unica fide corroborati, uno martirio coronati, sub uno essent quoque altari tumulati, et, quorum unus uterus extiterat beatus maternus, unus esset in sepultura locellus. Quorum veneranda translatio celebratur mense maii quinto decimo die, prestante Jesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat etc.

II

I Miracoli di San Giovenale Martire

I Bollandisti (*Acta SS.*, 7 *Maii*, ii, 137) trattando di san Giovenale martire affermano che, mentre spessissimo ricorre il nome di questo santo, di lui non si è poi mai saputo nulla, neppure dove sia nato e quando sia vissuto.

Il Calendario dell'Archidiocesi di Benevento annovera anche oggi S. Giovenale tra i suoi patroni e ne celebra la festa il 2 maggio. Nell'attuale Chiesa di Santa Sofia, si venera ancora il corpo del martire, sotto un altare che gli è dedicato e a cui è annessa una Confraternita laica.

Questo stesso è affermato dall'arcidiacono beneventano Mario de Vipera, fiorito nella prima metà del Seicento, nel seguente elogio, citato dai Bollandisti, che egli fa di san Giovenale:

> Juvenalis Martyr, ob miraculorum frequentiam insignis, Beneventi praesertim effulsit. Cum enim ipsa civitas mirum in modum pestilentia afflictaretur, ejus intercessione et patrocinio libera et sana facta est. Ejus corpus in ipsamet civitate, intra augustum templum S. Sophiae, sub altari specialiter ei dicato, asservatur, magnaque populi frequentia colitur sesto nonas Maii, qua die ejus festum Beneventi celebratur, ut ex gestis ipsius gloriosi Martyris in eadem ecclesia habetur.

Il de Vipera cita, come fonte d'informazione, il Martirologio Ms. della Biblioteca di Benevento segnato col n. 178.

Quanto alle *Gesta S. Juvenalis M.*, di cui egli parla, non ho potuto sino ad oggi trovarne traccia nei vari Archivi beneventani. Nel manoscritto, di cui noi ci occupiamo, trovasi però la relazione di alcuni miracoli attribuiti al Santo.

Il carattere vago delle notizie forniteci dal De Vipera, il suo accenno alla pestilenza, che si ritrova nel nostro testo, e l'insistere che egli fa esclusivamente sulla taumaturgia del santo, indurrebbero a credere che a questo testo appunto, o piuttosto all'originale di esso, faccia egli allusione quando parla delle *Gesta* che si conservavano nel monastero di S. Sofia. Le altre sue notizie derivano tutte dal Martirologio Beneventano. Certo è che il nostro testo è stato composto da qualche monaco benedettino annesso al monastero e tradisce visibilmente nel suo autore la pia intenzione di sfruttare a beneficio del monastero la fede ingenua dei devoti. Quanto alla data di composizione, esso deve rimontare, nella sua forma primitiva, a un'epoca più recente che le altre leggende, non trovandosi nei più antichi documenti alcun cenno di S. Giovenale, e probabilmente al secolo XII circa.

Stante la estrema rarità della leggende di S. Giovenale crediamo utile riprodurre, dal manoscritto della Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Benevento, il racconto dei suoi miracoli, diviso in 12 lezioni, più, crediamo noi, ad imitazione di analoghe leggende accolte nel breviario, che per uno specifico intendimento liturgico.

(f.5 r.) *Miracula sancti Juvenalis Martiris. Ex vetustissimo Breviario monastico descripto in carta membrana more longobardorum et extracta diligentissime de verbo ad verbum, recognita et collationata.*

LECTIO PRIMA

Quodam tempore cum Deus incolis huius patrie pro piaculis irasceretur immissiones per angelos malos misit (ut scriptum est) et vindictam in ipsos exercuit, cumque viri et mulieres pestilentia percuterentur, sacerdotes et clerici suburbani simul cum municipibus populis, magno cum gemitu et supplicationibus litaniarum ad martirum patrocinia confugerunt. Cuius autem intentus psallebat, et populus plebeus devotis altisque vocibus Chirieleison clamabat.

LECTIO 2ª

Dum autem totum simul cum canticis complesset psalterium, ceperunt (sole iam ruente) sacrificium vespertinum offerre Domino Deo, sed inter sacra missarum sollennia persuaset, et hostis antiquus unum ex laicis nomine Petrum, cui super nomine Teutari dicebatur, qui inter supplicantes in ecclesia devotus astabat, percussit.

LECTIO 3ª

Qui statim in pavimento absquo loquela ruens cunctis astantibus magnum incussit pavorem, cumque orationes ob terrorem intermisissent intentionem ad illum videndum properabant, qui non post multum surrexit, et in solio oratorii resedit, quem interrogantes cur ita subito corruisset respondit: venit angelus satane graviterque me percussit, ideo cecidi.

LECTIO 4ª

Dum autem imminens vellet me ab hac vita funditus extinguere, et animam meam ad inferos perducere sanctus juvenalis martir mox mihi citius affuit, et de illius potestate me eripuit. Illum autem cum virga aurea, quam manu gestabat, graviter flagellans de oratorio expulsit, et ad me item quantocius adventus proximus stetit, et cum predicta virga locum percussionis leviter (f.5 *r.*) tangens, ita me consolatus est dicens: surge, et sanus esto, Deoque gratias age, qui me in tutum auxilium direxit.

LECTIO QUINTA

Quem cum requisissem quis esset, et quo nomine vocaretur, respondit: Ego quidam sum Juvenalis martir, sic nomine a progenitoribus dictus, cuius corpus sub hoc Dei et meo altari in spe resurrectionis quiescit, et quoniam devote orando cuncti ad Dominum clamastis, ideo exauditi estis, presensque plaga percussionis diaboli, et mortis Deo miserante a vobis cessavit; ideoque Domino Jesu Christo fideliter deservire nitemini, et hanc misericordiam quam in vos exercuit omnibus predicate, ut cuncti discant in eum firmius confidere, et in tribulatione numquam desperare.

LECTIO 6ª

Presbiter quidam de sancto Laurentio nobis vicino, cui petrus erat nomen, habens nepotem quendam gravi morbo laborantem, quem nimium diligebat, cui cum omnis humane solertie cura fuisset adhibita, et in dies magis ac magis deterior fieret spe salutis illius amissa de sepulchro tantummodo cogitabant.

LECTIO 7ª

Cum autem prefatus presbiter post matutinam sinaxim membra quieti ut somnum parumper caperet potuisset eoque infirmo vigilaret multum, dum adhuc plene dormienti affluit sanctus Juvenalis eumque tali pacto affatus est; o petre Dei sacerdos, quare ita tristis es qui respondens ait: potero ne tristis non esse dum video nepotem meum valde dilectum ab hac vita discedere, et ego qui vetulus sum, in hac diu vivens consisto.

LECTIO 8ª

Qui dixit ei, vade festinus ad sancte sophie monasterium tecum portans cereum offerens sacrificium pro eo, et statim de hac infirmitate liber (f.6 *r.*) extiterit; quem cum requisisset, quis esset, qui ei talia iubebat, et celerem sanitatem infirmo puero promittebat respondit: Juvenalis namque martir nomine vocor sociatusque martiri Bonifacio sub uno Dei altari, in quo predictum pro infirmo sacrificium Deo, et in mei nomine offerri iubeo; et abiit.

LECTIO NONA

Presbiter igitur festinanter optimum tulit cereum, simulque redemptionis pretium, citoque ad hoc venit monasterium, invenitque Joannem prepositum, et sue necessitatis negotium exposuit, qui festinus accersivit sacerdotem unum de tribus monasterii (Maurum nomine), eumque humiliter supplicans, precepit ut Domino pro infirmo predicto offerret sacrificium.

LECTIO DECIMA

Quod cum devotissime fecisset ad domum propriam predictus presbiter est reversus, inventique quendam, quem proximum morti reliquerat, melius se habentem et alimenta que manducaret querentem, dum autem manducavit, et bibit, statim convaluit, et plures post modum annos vixit. Hoc dum sepe dictum sacerdos Deo, et beato Juvenali martiri immensas gratias egit.

LECTIO UNDECIMA

Alio autem tempore, quendam Agricolam de sancto Vito, qui ad septimum diem convaluit, cuius nomen sumus obliti, eoque plures anni sunt elapsi, de quo sanctus Juvenalis illum de gravi infirmitate febrium sanum fecit, cuique in visione apparens, dixit; quantocius ad monasterium sancte sophie deportari te facito. Ibi enim requiescit in sommo pacis corpus meum ibique oblationem ad altare meum offeras, et comunica, sicque eris sanus, et ego sum juvenalis martir, qui hoc tibi precipio.

LECTIO 12ª

Quam iussionem absque dilatione cum diligenter fecisset statim a Deo, et beato Juvenale sanus factus est, et qui equo ut infirmus venerat pedester ad (f.6 *r.*) suam domum omnino sanum rediit, qui Dei, et beati Juvenalis misericordia erga se exuberare cognoscens octavo postmodum die unum carrum de lignis tribus cantaris, et visitationis gratia adduxit, beatoque Juvenali martiri attentius comendavit sicque domum suam reversus est.

III

Frammento della Vita di S. Alberto Vescovo

Nella Biblioteca Capitolare di Benevento, si conserva un cod. lat. ms. di cm. 21 × 23, scritto con bella e nitida scrittura umanistica, e segnato col n° 49.

Esso contiene i *Soliloquia S. Augustini*, che dànno il titolo all'intiero volumetto, i *Soliloquia Ysidori presbiteri* e un trattato *De multis amonitionibus corporis ad animam et e converso et hominis per modum questionis*. Questo codice racchiude inoltre, scritti con altra penna, certo contemporanea se pure non della stessa mano, un *Sermo pulcerrimus ad hedificationem anime* di San Bernardo e un curioso frammento della vita di un Sant'Alberto, vescovo tedesco, che riproduciamo qui fedelmente.

La composizione primitiva di quest'ultimo scritto va probabilmente collocata nel secolo XII, ad ogni modo in un'epoca, come dal contesto risulta, in cui era ancora in vigore l'uso di crociarsi. Notevole è in esso la svalutazione assoluta dell'intercessione dei Santi e della stessa Vergine nonchè delle opere soddisfattorie *post mortem*, svalutazione che conferisce al frammento un singolare sapore di eterodossia.

(f.66 *r.*) *Incipit quoddam notabile extractum de vita sancti Alberti episcopi et Fratrum eius novem episcoporum.*

Fuit in germania familia nobilis, novem silicet fratres, cui omnes episcopi sancti fuerunt, deique (f.65 *r.*) amici. Inter quos unus extitit albertus nomine. Hic omni conatu discere studuit, quo pacto in opus deo gratum omne tempus suum queuisset expendere. Prostratusque in oratione precatus est deum, ut sibi dignaretur ostendere, quid faciens illi esse acceptior posset. Et cum die quadam missarum solennia deuotissime celebraret, priusquam sumeret dominicum corpus, oravit dicens, domine iesu christe fili dei, neque te attollam, neque dimittam, neque id faciam quod a quolibet christiano fieri debet, nisi mihi aperte monstraveris, quid faciens tibi magis placere possim. Tunc facta est vox ad eum dicens. Quid uis frater, quia sic me adiurasti. Melius nouerit pater quid expediat filio, quam filius ipse. Postea sibi secuta est eadem nox.

Octo sunt que si observaveris, deo placere valebis. Primo dabis numum unum proximo tuo dum valueris amore nominis mei, donec vixeris, quia plus affert utilitati tibi, michique est, quam si post mortem dimitteres ut per te daretur mons aureus, qui a terra usque in aerem pertingeret. Secundo deflebis cum lacrimis ex corde passionem meam et peccata tua. Id michi est carius, et tibi utilius, quam si pro petituris rebus effunderes flumina lacrimarum. Tercio si tolleraveris iniuriosum verbum a proximo tuo, michi acceptius erit, et utilius tibi, quam si te feriendo rumperes tot virgas quod profert silva, vel qui alius locus. Quarto renuntiabis omnibus (f. 66 *r.*) voluptatibus et oblectationibus tuis ac somno, et in oratione permanebis. Illud erit gratius michi, et utilius tibi, quam si post mortem tuam duodecim milites armati supra sepulturam tuam tollerent crucem, et pro anima tua mare transirent. Quinto si hospicio susceperis hospitem pro nomine meo, eique bene feceris, michi carius erit utilius tibi, quam si tu orbem peragrares universam, fundendo sanguinem tuum singulis passibus. Sexto quicquid ferre necessario convenit, cum pace et mansuetudine toleres. Id michi gratius erit et utilius tibi, quam si virtutis merito rapereris usque ad tercium celum. Septimo si postulaveris aliquid sive spiritale sive corporale, ipse per temet postulabis, erit michi acceptius et utilius tibi, quam si me pro te orarent, et mater mea, et omnes novem ordines angelorum, et iusti et perfecti omnes, qui ab adam huc usque fuerunt. Octavo si reliqueris, omnem seculi consolationem, quia mori et deficere potes, et inquiris consolationem meam, michi carius est et utilius tibi, quam si eculeus a terra in celum erectus, ex quatuor lateribus ac acutus ut gladius, super quem incederes usque ad iudicij diem, fundendo sanguinem tutum. Explicit.

Antonino De Stefano

THE *ARBORES* OF JOACHIM OF FIORE

(Plates XV–XX)

THE image of the tree has been powerful in the human imagination and therefore fruitful as a source of metaphor. In ancient mythologies it appears as a cosmic symbol and it is entwined, root and branch, in Christian thought. The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil overshadows Man's fall; the 'Tree' of the Cross dominates his salvation; the Tree of Life, which sheltered him in the Garden of Eden, heals him in the New Jerusalem.[1] In the great prophetic image of Isaiah, the turning-point of history becomes the young shoot of an ancient tree:[2]

> And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow out of his roots.

In course of time, too, the great crisis of wickedness also appears in Jewish thought under the same figure:[3]

> And there came forth out of them a sinful root, Antiochus Epiphanes.

Again, in Jewish thought good men are trees that flourish:[4]

> And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season, his leaf also shall not wither.

while in the teaching of Christ human lives are the good or corrupt trees bringing forth their appropriate fruits.[5] Institutions, too, may be seen as trees: 'As the days of a tree are the days of my people.' says Isaiah,[6] and this is carried forward by St. Paul in his argument to the Romans that the Church is the true shoot from the old stock of Israel:[7]

> If the root be holy, so are the branches, and if some of the branches be broken off and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert graffed in among them and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree, boast not against the branches. . . .

The Kingdom of God itself is likened by Christ to the mighty tree springing from the mustard-seed, in which all the birds of the air may lodge.[8] All these may be said to be trees, in some sense, rooted in history, but we find also the purely allegorical tree, such as the tree of wisdom in the Book of Ecclesiasticus:[9]

> I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress tree on the mountains of Hermon. I was exalted like a palm tree on the sea-shore, and as rose plants in Jericho, and as a fair olive tree in the plain; and I was exalted as a plane

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[1] Genesis ii. 9; iii. 6; Revelation xii. 2.

[2] Isaiah xi. 1.

[3] I Maccabees i. 10.

[4] Psalms i. 3; see also Jeremiah xvii. 8.

[5] Matthew vii. 17–20.

[6] Isaiah lxv. 22.

[7] Romans xi. 16–18.

[8] Matthew xiii. 31–32.

[9] Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 12–17; also i. 20.

> tree. As cinnamon and aspalathus, I have given a scent of perfumes; . . . . As the terebinth I stretched out my branches; and my branches are branches of glory and grace. As the vine I put forth grace; and my flowers are the fruit of glory and riches.

It is not surprising that the tree symbol plays a large part in medieval writing and art. We may note briefly certain developments in its use.[10] In the first place, the Cross is linked with the Tree of Life which becomes its Old Testament prototype. This idea is most fully developed in the legend that the wood of the actual Cross which stood on Golgotha was hewn from the Tree of Life which stands from eternity to eternity in heaven. Hence some of the earliest representations of the tree in Christian art are of the Tree of Life and of the Cross with tree-attributes.[11] In the second place, from the prophecy of Isaiah there gradually develops the Tree of Jesse in which the Child born of the Virgin—an identification of *Virgo* with *Virga* takes place here—is seen as the crowning fruit of an organic growth in history. Genealogical 'trees' or tables had long been known, but in a descending form. The application of the Isaiah prophecy to the genealogy of Christ was needed to produce the ascending tree of Jesse, which was also influenced by the imagery of the Tree of the Cross, since both were trees of salvation. Both, too, were linked with Jacob's ladder, for trees and ladders can both be climbed.[12] In the third place, we meet the elaboration of the concept of human lives as trees bearing good and bad fruits into allegorical trees of virtues and vices.[13] This is connected with the two trees in the Garden of Eden, for over against the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil through which the old Adam fell stands the Tree of Life which is renewed in the new Adam. Thus Hugh of St. Victor juxtaposes an *arbor vitiorum* of the old Adam, rooted in *Superbia* and crowned by *Luxuria*, with an *arbor virtutum* of the new Adam, rooted in *Humilitas* and crowned by *Charitas*.[14] By the twelfth century both the second and third types of tree are fully represented in art. In 1144 Abbot Suger caused what is probably the earliest complete Jesse window to be erected at St. Denis,[15] while a characteristic example of the trees of virtues and vices is found in the *Liber floridus* of Lambert of St. Omer, an illustrated encyclopædia of c. 1120 in which the *Arbor bona*, symbol of the *Ecclesia fidelium*, springs from *Charitas* and bears shrub-like branches with blossoms and fruits, while the *Arbor mala*, symbol of *Synagoga* and springing from *Cupiditas*, is dead and cold, with withered fig-tree branches.[16]

By the end of the twelfth century the use of these various tree-symbols was widely disseminated and it is reasonable to suppose that the Abbot Joachim was acquainted with some of them. For instance, Adam, abbot of Persigny, who visited Joachim, wrote a sermon on the famous Isaiah text *Egredietur virga de radice Jesse* which has survived in a manuscript of the Cistercian house of Casamari where Joachim spent a considerable time.[17] When, therefore, in MS. 255A of Corpus Christi College, Oxford,[18] we come upon a small forest of unique and richly-imagined symbolic trees, we must probably regard them as in part the fruits of this developing use of the tree-form. This earliest manuscript of Joachim's *Liber Figurarum* can be dated on different grounds as early as 1187 or as late as 1230, about thirty years after the abbot's death,[19] but even if we assume the latest possible date, the imagery goes straight back to Joachim's writings and may be taken as embodying in essence his inspiration. It seems worth enquiring how far Joachim drew on the current tree symbolism and how the unique elements in his trees developed.

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[10] The material in this paragraph is drawn from the following studies: A. Watson, *Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London, 1934); R. Bauerreiss, *Arbor Vitae* (Abhandl. der Bayerischen Benediktiner Akademie, Bd. III, Munich, 1938); A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art* (London, 1939); L. Spitzer, *Essays in Historical Semantics* (New York, 1948), pp. 67–104. See also F. Saxl, 'A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v (1942), pp. 107–115, describing a fifteenth century MS. with 26 allegorical trees.

[11] Bauerreiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5, 24.

[12] Watson, *op. cit.*, passim; Bauerreiss, *op. cit.*, p. 132; Spitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 73 *et seq.*

[13] Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–68; Spitzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–81.

[14] Spitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 80; see *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxvi, 997 seq.

[15] Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–81.

[16] Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

The tree-form lends itself readily to use as a classifying device and there are many examples of this use in medieval art.[20] The trees of virtues and vices need be little more than schemes of classification, although their derivation from the New Testament trees of good and bad lives implies organic growth and so they are usually shown as living, fruit-bearing plants or, contrastingly, dead. But they are essentially abstractions from human life. The Jesse trees, on the other hand, are rooted in human history, but represent a completed growth, a fulfilled end; the further flowering of human life and history cannot here be depicted. The Tree of Life transcends and overshadows the whole of human history, while the Tree of the Cross, though rooted in history, is, no more than the Tree of Life, contained within it. Since Joachim's tree-figures develop essentially, as we shall see, from Old Testament genealogy, he was probably most influenced by the current image of the Jesse tree. But, unlike this, his trees grow on up into the new era of Christ and lift their heads far into the future. They are trees of *all* history. From his writings it is clear that Joachim sees history as an organic process of germination, growth and fructification.[21] So he incorporates into his genealogical trees—perhaps from the trees of virtues and vices—the symbols of growth, bud, blossom and fruit, and occasionally of abortive withering. Joachim's trees, however, are no mere systems of abstract classification, but trees of humanity, rooted in history and measuring their growth by the generations of men. The Tree of Life and the Tree of the Cross are never directly represented by Joachim, perhaps because of their supra-historical significance, but in the luxuriant and strange flowering of some of Joachim's trees one cannot but recall the vision of the Tree 'which bare twelve manner of fruits and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.'[22]

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[17] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, ccxi, 699–711. Adam develops the theme of the two trees: 'In antidotum, ergo, prius arboris, cuius fructus mortem intulit, de virgulto Davidicae stirpis, hanc vitam fructificans, Virga processit . . . . O arborem fructuosam, in medio paradisi plantatam, ramis expansam, radice firmatam! . . . . Inter bonas arbores incomparabiliter optima est virga de radice Jesse, ex qua vitae fructus processit.'

[18] For the full description of this MS., see L. Tondelli, M. Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, *Il Libro delle Figure dell'Abate Gioachino da Fiore*, ii (Turin, 1953). All subsequent references to the *Liber Figurarum* are to this edition.

[19] *Lib. Fig.*, p. 18.

[20] As, for example, the trees of Ramon Lull in the *Arbor Scientiae*, although the tree is to Lull more than a diagrammatic device, symbolising 'the working of the elements in nature.' See F. A. Yates, 'The Art of Ramon Lull,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xvii, 1954, pp. 141, 144 seq.

[21] See especially *Liber Concordie* (Venice, 1519), fols. 8*r*–10*v*, 18*r*–20*r*, 22*v*–23*r*, 43*r*, 56*v*, 62*v*; *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527), fols. 19*r*–19*v*, 83*r*–83*v*, 93*v*. All subsequent references to these works are to the edition cited here.

The abbot starts out in the first chapter of his *Liber Concordie* from the idea of the long pilgrimage which this life's history forms.[23] This leads him through two general sketches of the history of Israel,[24] but throughout these early pages there is a sense of waiting, of hovering on a threshold, for he always stops short at the end of the Old Testament. Then, in the last sentences of Book I, he bursts into a statement of his great conviction that the whole history of Israel is vain unless we see each event in relation to its 'concord' in the New Testament era:[25]

> Sicut enim arbor quelibet frustra solum radicibus stringitur, nisi ramis excrescentibus levem penetret aerem, sic illius populi gesta incassum Spiritu Sancto conscripta fore testamur, atque ut sacra Dei mysteria venerantes amplectimur, nisi in eis spiritualia quedam esse presignata credamus.

Thus the image of the tree first appears in Joachim's writings as a symbol of continuing human history whose branches must rise and spread throughout all centuries, since the Old Testament era without the New would be barren. A Jesse tree to Joachim, it may be suggested, must have appeared as roots without branches.

In the following chapters the abbot is developing his alternative schemes of concords in history which I have tried to explain elsewhere as the patterns of 'twos' and 'threes.'[26] Briefly, the idea may be summarised thus: history must be regarded at one and the same time as falling into two great eras, culminating in the First and Second Advents respectively, and also as divided into three *status*, belonging respectively to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In the middle of Book II[27] he begins to think of history in terms of generations and genealogies. The long procession of the generations of mankind moving down the centuries from Adam is, indeed, one of Joachim's seminal ideas. It dominates Book II, where the generations appear several times arranged in long columns.[28] Joachim uses both the genealogy of Matthew i. 1–17 and lists of judges and kings for his Old Testament generations, and he matches these with generations in the era of the New Testament reckoned by units of thirty years. Did the columns of the generations suggest the tall trunks of forest trees, or did his own use of the language of germination and fructification to describe the stages of history bring to mind the current use of the tree symbol? However this may be, the image crystallises abruptly at the beginning of chapter 22.[29] In the preceding one he has been re-stating his great pattern of threes, in which the whole of history is comprehended in three over-lapping series of generations: Adam to Christ, Ozias (Uzziah) to his own times, St. Benedict to the consummation of the ages. Now suddenly these erect themselves in his imagination into the stems of three great trees:

> In hac diffinitione concordie quasi species trium arborum statuende sunt ante oculos mentis, quarum quelibet estimentur habere in ascensu stipitis

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[22] Revelations xxii. 2; see also Ezechiel xlvii. 12.

[23] *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 1.

[24] *Ibid.*, fols. 2*r*–5*r*.

[25] *Ibid.*, fols. 5*r*–5*v*.

[26] M. Reeves, 'The Liber Figurarum of Joachim of Fiore,' *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, ii, 1950, pp. 74–77.

[27] *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 10*v*.

[28] *Ibid.*, fols. 11*r*–11*v*, 16*r*, 17*r*, 24*v*.

[29] *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 13*v*.

> cubitos viginti i, in perfectum ramorum xxi. Ita enim ab Adam usque ad Jacob prosecutus est Moyses ordinem genealogie, ut ramos qui processerunt ab eodem stipite spurios esse demonstret, et veluti quodam ferro ab eodem succisos. Porro a Jacob multiplicati sunt rami et perseveraverunt in loco suo usque ad Oziam. A diebus autem Ozie ceperunt succidi etiam ipsi . . . . Deficientibus ergo ramis, ipsa sola (i.e. Judah) cum Levi et Beniamin perseveravit usque ad Christum. Secundum hoc in secunda arbore consideranda sunt. Etiam puto quod in tertia, si tamen tempora sua comprehendi permitteret.

This complex image bears little direct relation to current uses of the tree symbol and it may very well be asked whether this picture before the mental eye was given in a moment of mystical vision, as in the case of at least one other of Joachim's symbols.[30] There is a hint that this was so. In a later chapter he describes these trees as standing before his mind's eye like *cedras magnas . . . sublimas et condensas* and these words are associated with a text from Ezechiel, xvii. 22:

> Thus saith the Lord God: I will also take of the highest branch of the high cedar and will set it; I will crop off from the top of his young twigs a tender one, and will plant it upon a high mountain and eminent: in the mountain of the height of Israel will I plant it: and it shall bring forth boughs and bear fruit, and be a goodly cedar.

The mountain slopes of Calabria must have set before him many mighty trees to contemplate, yet perhaps it was rather the words of Ezechiel that evoked a vision which—so he hints—was given to him on the mountain-top of contemplation:[31]

> . . . talem nos cedri huius imaginem assignare oportet, qualem eam pro dono gratie in montis verticem contemplati sumus, non quales in sylvis montium consueverunt inveniri.

From its description,[32] Joachim's vision requires three trees which together represent his Trinitarian view of history. The first tree springs from its root in Adam, rises bare for twenty-one generations, bears branches in the twelve sons of Jacob which flourish for twenty-one generations, and, finally, from Ozias rises bare again for twenty-one generations above the dense branches to its consummation. The second tree should, in some manner, grow out of the first, springing from Ozias and rising with bare stem for twenty-one generations to the Advent of Christ; it should begin to bear its branches in the Apostles, begin to fail in branches twenty-one generations after, with the rise of the Saracens, and be consummated in its sixty-third generation. For obvious reasons Joachim has greater difficulty in describing the second than the first tree, and when he comes to the third, he struggles in vain after his vision. As the second grows out of the first, so the third should spring out of both the others, to express the perfect truth of the Trinity. It should be in some respects alike, in others unlike the first two trees. But how to delineate this mystical tree of the Third Age, when even the length of the generations in this

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[30] *Psalterium decem cordarum* (Venice, 1527), fols. 227*r*–227*v*.

[31] *Lib Conc.*, fol. 19*r*.

[32] *Ibid.*, fols. 13*v*–14*v*, 19*r*–23*r*.

Sabbath of rest may differ from those of labour? Each time Joachim, in his repeated expositions of the trees, turns from the first and second to the third he hesitates:

> Sed locus est dicere aliquid de tertia arbore, que habet concordiam da semetipsam, quamvis et a duabus reliquis non discordet.[33]

Finally he does begin to discern its main lines: it springs to life in St. Benedict and its branches are monasteries, Benedictine and Cistercian.[34] Little more can be said, however, and indeed his third tree seems to elude him:[35]

> Igitur solutis modis et undique propulsis obstaculis locus est ut duarum arborum figuras quarum similitudo mira est deductas in seriem generationibus uniformiter depingamus: quatenus dum eas esse similes cernimus virtutem concordie sentiamus. Sane tertie arboris similitudo non potest eatenus assignari: quia et si secundum operum similitudinem similis est duarum propter illa tamen que superius dicta sunt numerum et terminum generationum excedit. Sed pro eo quod ita tertia arbor a duabus miro modo procedit, a prima videlicet et secunda, complentes pariter duos status . . . , videtur secundum aliquid habere concordiam ad se, secundum vero aliquid ad ipsam primam et secundam: quia quidem intellectu animi aliquatenus capi potest, figuris autem competentibus aut vix aut nullatenus dari potest.

How was it possible, indeed, to depict those cedars, such as could not be seen in the mountain forest? That Joachim did attempt to translate his visionary trees into figures is clear from the closing words of the chapter in which he first introduces them:[36]

> Sed quia mentis occupate circa multa sepe obtunditur intellectus, opere precium credimus ipsarum de quibus agimus spiritualium arborum presentare figuras, ut per ea quod exterior cernit oculus, interior acies illustretur.

and the opening words of the next chapter:[37]

> Quum constet quod arbores iste quas assumpsimus in figuram . . .

But what tree-figure did Joachim actually draw at this point? The 1519 edition printed in Venice places between the two chapters a crude figure of a single, three-stemmed tree which expresses clumsily some of the ideas in the preceding chapters.[38] That this is not just the work of a bungling sixteenth-century editor is established by the appearance in a fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Liber Concordie*[39] of an identical tree and in a thirteenth-century anthology[40] of one which is probably the original from which the two later ones developed. None of these, however, represent the three trees of Joachim's vision. This discrepancy suggested the examination of as many manuscripts of the *Liber Concordie* as possible, with the results tabulated below.[41]

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[33] *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 23*r*.

[34] *Ibid.*, fol. 23*r*.

[35] *Ibid.*, fol. 22*r*.

[36] *Ibid.*, fol. 13*v*.

[37] *Ibid.*, fol. 14*v*.

[38] It gives the chief sequence of names: Adam, Jacob, Ozias, Christ, Benedict, Bernard; it also marks the three *status* and names the three persons of the Trinity, but these are not logically placed, and there are four branches each side, for no intelligible reason.

[39] Vatican, Cod. Lat. 3821, fol. 18*r*.

[40] Vatican, Cod. Lat. 4860, fol. 289*r*. This occurs in extracts from the *Lib. Conc.* (fols. 1–14 in the Ven. edition) which occupy fols. 281–289.

It is clear that already in the thirteenth century the manuscript tradition as to the proper figure to insert at this point is uncertain. The Corsini manuscript, the only one known to have come from Fiore itself,[42] gives us no figure at all and this omission occurs in a number of other manuscripts. But our examination shows also two other solutions to the problem: (a) the figure of a single tree; (b) a diagram of three 'trees' which are simply lists of generations in columns. The most interesting by far of the trees in category (a) is that which has come to light on the back page of Vat. Lat. 4861, discovered by observing the rubric of direction at the point in the text where the figure should be. It forms an integral part of the manuscript, being executed in the fine pen-lines of red and blue which are characteristic of the rubricated initials throughout.[43] Whilst there are no sufficiently distinct traits to support a definite judgment on date and provenance, it is certainly not later than the mid-thirteenth century and is probably of south Italian origin.[44] It summarises well the general conceptions of the preceding chapters: it is rooted in Adam and bears twelve branches in Jacob, while its bare stem from Ozias to Christ represents at once the end of the first and the beginning of the second *status*; again, there are twelve branches in Christ, and again the bare stem from St. Benedict shows the end of the second and the beginning of the third *status* which, in its turn, has twelve branches and rises bare to its consummation. In the captions the Trinitarian significance of the three stages is clearly indicated. Yet still it is a figure of one single tree, not of the three mystically-joined trees which Joachim had seen. It is a general representation of history rather than the textual figure required at this point. Yet in some ways it is the most complete embodiment in figure form of Joachim's three-fold view of history which we have found and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it comes directly from his inspiration, perhaps his own substitute for the textual figure he could not adequately draw.

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[41] A. *Thirteenth-century manuscripts*:
(1) Vatican, Cod. Lat. 4861, fol. 25*r*: rubric after the passage quoted above ending *interior acies illustretur*: *Require arborem hanc in fine huius libri*; fol. 211*v* (last page): figure of single tree.
(2) Vatican, Cod. Lat. 4860, fol. 289*r*: tree from which printed one derived.
(3) Rome, Bibl. Corsini, Cod. 41, F.2, fol. 14*r*: blank column left for tree.
(4) Padua, Bibl. Anton., Cod. 328, fols. 17*v*–18*r*: two half-pages blank for tree; fol. 26*r*: after the passage quoted above ending *nullatenus dari potest*, another sentence is added, ending *in subiecta figura diligenter ostenditur*; there follows an arrangement of lists of generations so as to form the three trees with their overlaps.
(5) Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Lat. 15254, fol. 243*v*: no space for tree; fols. 249*v*–250*r*: additional sentence and tree-lists as in MS. Padua.
(6) Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Lat. 16280, fol. 31*v*: no space for tree; fols. 46*v*–47*v*: additional sentence and tree-lists as in MS. Padua.
(7) Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Lat., 10453, fol. 10*r*: no space for tree: fols. 15*r*–15*v*: blank space for tree-lists as in MS. Padua.
B. *Fourteenth-century manuscripts*:
(1) Vatican, Cod. Lat. 3821, fol. 17*v*: after *acies illustretur*, a unique geometrical diagram expressing some of the ideas in the preceding chapters; fol. 18*r*: single, three-stemmed tree exactly as in Ven. ed.
(2) Florence, Bibl. Laur., Cod. Plut. VIII dextr. X, fol. 20*r*: after *acies illustretur*, short blank space; fol. 20*v*: attempt to represent first tree as a list of generations; fol. 21*r*: blank; fols. 21*v*–22*r*: unique diagram of generation-lists as three trees; fol. 33*v*: after passage ending *nullatenus dari potest*, additional sentence and diagram of three tree-lists as in MS. Padua.
(3) Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. Lat. 3320, fol. 13*v*: no space for tree.
C. *Fifteenth-century manuscripts*:
(1) Vatican, Cod. Lat. 5732 (fragment of *Lib. Conc.*), fol. 48*r*: no space for tree.
(2) Vatican, Cod. Borghese 190, fol. 26*r*: space but no tree-figure; fols. 37*r*–37*v*: additional sentence and diagram of three tree-lists as in MS. Padua.
(3) Vatican, Cod. Urb. Lat. 8, fol. 20*v*: after *acies illustretur*, rubric: *sequitur arbor spiritualis in alia columpna*, then blank column; fols. 30*v*–31*r*: additional sentence and diagram as in MS. Padua.
(4) Rome, Bibl. Casantense, Cod. 1412, fol. 12*r* no space for tree; fol. 17*v*: after *nullatenus dari potest*, space for figure, but instead of tree-lists, figure of circles (Ven. ed., fol. 21*v*) is misplaced here.

[42] Prof. H. Grundmann was the first to notice the definite connection of this MS. with Fiore. See his *Neue Forschungen über Joachim von Fiore* (Marburg, 1950), p. 31, no. 2.

[43] See Plate XV. I am greatly indebted to Miss Jamison who examined this MS. at my request and sent me a full description of the figures before I was able to see it myself.

[44] According to Dr. Pächt and Dr. Buchthal, both of whom kindly examined a photostat of this figure at my request.

In the second place, in a considerable group of manuscripts, the three trees are represented in much more prosaic form by a diagrammatic arrangement of generations which does not occur in the Venetian edition. In most cases the diagram occurs at the point in the text where Joachim expresses the impossibility of drawing the third tree adequately.[45] Once, in the Florentine manuscript, a similar diagram also occurs where the tree-figure should be. The fact that these lists of generations are regarded as trees is clearly indicated and some attempt is made to represent the springing of one from another.

It is impossible to say just what the authentic figure should be. The manuscript evidence suggests very strongly that the tree-lists of generations belong to the original text, not as a substitute for the tree-figure, but at the later point. I am inclined to think that at the first point Joachim really tried to draw his three trees, that he was dissatisfied with the only figure he could achieve, the single tree with three sets of branches, and that the tree-lists of generations were a poor substitute for the wonderful and mysterious trees of his vision.

Joachim never again attempted a tree as a textual figure. Yet the tree-metaphor remained in his imagination, to be used in many different ways in his writings,[46] and he returned to the artistic embodiment of his vision in the series of trees which form part of the *Liber Figurarum*. These are essentially figures expressing general concepts of history rather than textual illustrations and they form one of the most interesting groups of symbolical trees in the history of medieval art. We may now consider briefly how Joachim finally represented history under the tree-symbol.

In the first place he depicts total history twice over in a single tree.[47] Here the three trees have become one. Yet, if the Trinitarian concept of the second and third proceeding from the first has been lost, we may still interpret these single trees as embodying a trinity in unity in the light of this passage from the *Expositio Apocalypsim*:[48]

> . . . radix, stipes et cortex una sunt arbor . . . . Tria sunt tamen et nihil aliud. Sed quia ipsa tria unum vel una arbor et unum lignum, dicimus esse tria unum et unum tria.

Both these trees spring from Adam and pick out the main stages of history in Jacob, Ozias, Christ; in both the tree-trunk is formed from the Old Testament generations, followed by a corresponding number after Christ; both have two sets of twelve main branches—six each side of the trunk[49]—representing tribes springing from Jacob and churches from Christ. The most important difference between them is that one culminates in the Second Advent and the other in the words *Spiritus Sanctus*. Joachim is conveying here his two alternative patterns of history :[50] thus the first tree has two stages of growth only, clearly marked by the First and Second Advents, while in the second tree the mystical third *status* has been introduced at the climax. He has, however, grown cautious in attempting to depict the third stage : there is no third set of branches, as in Cod. Vat. Lat. 4861, and he makes no attempt to assign generations to the third *status*.[51] It is a mystical *status*, expected in time and forming an essential part of history, yet not to be tied to a particular moment or set of institutions. The tree of the generations can, as it were, aspire to the third *status* in its topmost crown but may not contain it in its structure of trunk and branches.

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[45] *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 22*r*, quoted above, p. 129.

[46] See, for example, *Lib. Conc.*, fols. 42*v*, 54*v*, 66*v*; *Expos.*, fols. 30*v*, 36*v*, 127*v*, 131*r*, 138*r*, 208*v*.

[47] *Lib. Fig.*, Pls. i and ii.

[48] *Expos.*, fol. 36*v*.

[49] In each case these are arranged as five and five, with two more (representing the tribes of Judah and Benjamin and the churches of Rome and Ephesus respectively) springing from a higher point on the trunk. Cf. *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 13*v*, quoted on p. 128.

This pair is followed[52] by another in which history is divided according to Joachim's pattern of twos,[53] that is to say, the first tree springs from Adam and is built up of the generations to Christ, while the second springs from Ozias with a corresponding number of generations, each tree bearing one set of branches. There is no third tree and, at first sight, no sign of the mystic third *status*. Two features, however, give the clue to the hidden meaning of these trees. In the first place, the two sets of branches, which once more represent the tribes and churches, are oddly divided into five and seven on either side of the trunk,[54] instead of six and six. From Joachim's writings the significance of this 5/7 division of the mystical twelve is made clear :[55] in the Old Testament five tribes received their inheritance first and seven afterwards, while in the New, five churches were founded first, belonging to St. Peter and seven afterwards, pertaining to St. John.[56] There are, moreover, five senses but seven spiritual virtues; thus the five becomes to Joachim a symbol of the prior, the outer, the literal, and the seven of the posterior, inner, spiritual. Now Peter usually signifies the Church of the second *status*, but John that of the third;[57] thus whenever the 5/7 division appears it always carries with it the hidden promise of the third *status* contained in this posterior seven.[58] So here, two trees apparently covering the whole of history according to Joachim's pattern of two dispensations, conceal in their branches his third *status* and thus complete the pattern of threes.

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[50] Supra, p. 127.

[51] There is a gap at the top between the last generation and the words *Spiritus Sanctus*, whereas no gap appears in the tree of the Second Advent. It is significant that in the latter the 'end' of the Old and New Testaments is indicated at the First and Second Advents respectively, but no attempt is made in the former to adapt the Testaments to a pattern of threes.

[52] The order assumed here is not that of the edition cited, but one worked out by the author with Dr. Hirsch-Reich; see the Introduction, pp. 19, 32–33.

[53] See Plates XVI and XVII; *Lib. Fig.*, Pls. v, vi.

[54] The actual branches are four and six, but to each must be added one name written on the side of the trunk, corresponding to the separate branches in the first pair of trees.

[55] *Lib. Conc.*, fols. 31*v*, 57*v*–58*r*; *Expos.*, fols. 16*v*–23*v*, 48*r*–50*v*.

[56] The churches of St. Peter are Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, Rome; those of St. John are the seven churches of the Apocalypse.

[57] Peter went into the Sepulchre first and John afterwards (John xx. 3–8); Christ's words recorded in John xxi. 18–22, were interpreted as emphasising the death of Peter before John. See *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 58*r*; *Expos.*, fols. 17*r*–18*v*, 22*r*–23*v*, 49*v*–50*v*.

[58] Dr. Hirsch-Reich has drawn my attention to an interesting parallel symbolism in ancient mythology expounded by J. J. Bachofen, *Urreligion u. antike Symbole* : *Auswahl. herausg. v. C. A. Bernouilli* (Leipzig, 1926), i, 263 seq. The five and seven represent the two-fold nature of Athene : as *quinta* she is the material mother, as celebrated in the feast of the birth of Quinquatria and symbolised in the moon; as *septima*, the immaterial virgin bearing the nature of light and symbolised in the sun. Saxl, *loc. cit.*, p. 108, cites a late medieval example of a tree showing the relation between the seven moments of the Passion, the seven canonical hours and the five senses.

There is, moreover, a second clue. When the two trees are inverted they are seen to be eagles.[59] Now the eagle is, of course, the symbol of St. John and of the contemplative church for which the evangelist stands. The connection in Joachim's mind between the eagle and the number symbolism found in these trees is established quite clearly by the figure of an eagle in his work the *Psalterium decem cordarum* in which the feathers are inscribed with sequences of 5/7 and 3.[60] All these symbols converge on the idea of the third *status*. Furthermore, if we revert to the text in Ezechiel xvii, which was probably the source of Joachim's vision of trees,[61] we find that it is preceded by the symbol of a great eagle, long-winged and full of divers-coloured feathers, which carries off the topmost branch of the cedar.[62] Is it fanciful to suppose that here, in these richly-adorned figures, Joachim conceives of his two eagles as carrying between them the inexpressible beauty of the third tree which should spring from both but which he found to be beyond drawing?

In the third place, Joachim does at last succeed in creating a figure of three trees growing out of each other. To achieve it, however, he once more fuses another symbol with that of the tree: tree-eagles are followed by tree-ladders.[63] He uses this design in a pair of figures. In each the second 'tree' grows from a node in the first and the third similarly from the second, while the corresponding node in the third, which has, of course, no tree springing from it, is designated *Presens Tempus* or *Sextum Tempus*. The captions make it clear that Joachim is once more imagining the three *status* of history, but he is no longer bound by genealogies and generations. Instead, he uses a sequence of Biblical women, upon whom he meditates much in his writings,[64] to express the conception and birth of the three successive *Ecclesiae*. Thus, the first tree springs from Eve and its node from which the second grows is Hagar; the second begins with Sarah and from its node, Elizabeth, springs the third tree which rises from Mary. There are variations between the two figures, notably in the consummation of each tree,[65] but the general meaning of both figures is the same. Thus we see that when in Joachim's mind the symbol of the three-trees-in-one finally took shape, it was in conjunction, not with the mathematical calculations of generations with which he had been so absorbed in the first part of the *Liber Concordie*, but with the mysterious concept of fecundity symbolised in these great Biblical women.

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[59] The eagle heads appear more plainly in the Reggio MS. which is reproduced in the edition of the *Lib. Fig.* than in the Oxford MS. from which the plates given here are taken.

[60] *Psalt. decem cord.* (Venice, 1527), fol. 268*r*. In the earliest MSS. the captions are actually written on the feathers, not, as in the printed edition, grouped round the figure. The following are examples of the sequences: 'Abraam Deus Pater, Isaac Filius, Jacob Spiritus Sanctus . . . A. exterior homo, I. interior, J. liberi voluntatis arbitrium, 5 & 7 filii, 5 sensus exteriores, 7 motiones animi; A. conjugatus, I. episcopi, J. abbates, 5 & 7 filii, 5 monasteria deputata ad exteriora, 7 ad interiora; A. abbates cassinenses, I. alii qui venerunt post eos, J. alii qui sunt vel futuri sunt, 5 & 7 filii, 5 monasteria et 7 future; . . . A. prelati primi status, I. prelati secundi, J. prelati tertii, 5 filii, 5 tribus, 5 ecclesie, 5 monasteria, 7 filii, 7 tribus, 7 ecclesie, 7 monasteria.

[61] Supra, p. 128.

[62] Ezechiel, xvii. 3.

[63] Plate XVIII; *Lib. Fig.*, Pls. xx, xxi. The ladder is indicated by crossbars; the tree by roots and foliage.

[64] *Lib. Conc.*, fols. 8*r*, 18*r*–18*v*, 42*r*, 61*r*, 81*v*, 99*v*–100*v*; *Expos.*, fols. 11*v*–12*v*, 18*v*–20*r*, 25*r*, 49*r*, 82*v*–83*v*.

[65] The one reproduced here ends in three judgments—of *terrena illa Jerusalem, latina Ecclesia* and *Israel*—whereas the other expresses the consummation of the three *Ecclesiae* in *Finis legis, Finis passionum et vite laboriose, Finis mundi*.

This pair of figures is again followed by another entirely new tree-form in which Joachim succeeds most graphically in depicting the three stages of history in one.[66] Again there is no calculation of generations: a single, two-stemmed tree springs from Noah; the stems, at first Shem and Japhet, then becoming *Populus Judaicus* and *Populus Gentilis*, entwine to form three successive circles (or rather ellipses) which embody the *status* of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Here we have a fusion of the tree with another Trinitarian symbol which appears in the *Liber Figurarum* in the form of three intertwining circles.[67] At each stage the two stems throw out some foliage—in contrast to a blasted, dead stump which represents Ham: in the age of the Father the *Populus Judaicus* bears most growth, in that of the Son, the *Populus Gentilis*, but only in the final age of the Spirit do both stems burst simultaneously into a wealth of intertwining branch, leaf and fruit. Here the image of the budding, blossoming, fruiting tree becomes Joachim's most powerful symbol of the unimaginable new life which will manifest itself in the third *status*.

Thus in the *Liber Figurarum* Joachim solves the problem of the elusive vision of three trees in two different ways: first, by depicting the three-in-one in his single trees; secondly, by blending another image with that of the tree and creating tree-eagles, tree-ladders and tree-circles.

In a final pair of trees[68] Joachim departs altogether not only from the generations but also from the three *status* of the world's history, constructing his trees instead on a succession of individuals, peoples and orders. He uses the tree metaphor in quite a new way: the sap, rising through the straight trunk, expresses the main line of spiritual development, while single branches thrown off on the way are aside from the main development. Thus, in the Old Dispensation, the tree springs from Abraham and the sap rises through Isaac, Jacob, Joseph and Ephraim, while the corresponding offshoots are Ishmael, Esau, Reuben and Manasseh. The tree of the New Dispensation grows from the *Ordo Patriarcharum* and its sap rises through the *Populus Gentilis*, the *Populus Latinus*, the *Ordo Monachorum* and the *Ordo Cisterciensium*, whilst its side-shoots are the *Populus Judaicus*, the *Populus Grecorum*, the *Ordo Clericorum* and the *Ordo Cluniacensium.* There is a progressive unfolding from bud and leaf to flower and fruit in the side-shoots, but the full crown of luxuriant growth belongs to the tree-top alone and springs from the main stem. Here, so it seems, Joachim is taking up again the hint he gave in his original attempt to describe the third tree, a hint which is developed elsewhere in his writings. Institutionally the third *status* belongs peculiarly to the monastic order, and perhaps especially to the Cistercian order.[69] This is the life which crowns history and can only be expressed in the waving vegetation of an exotic, unidentifiable tree. Although it will be manifested within history and is of the very essence of history, it cannot finally be expressed in a structure either of generations or of the three *status*.

All Joachim's true trees represent the power of God in history. Evil or unfulfillment is only shown negatively by abortive or undeveloped growth. Only once did Joachim come near to the concept of a tree of evil in history—in a pair of figures dealing with Rome and Babylon which have some tree characteristics, though they may more suitably be described as standards.[70] The stem of the first standard rises from Adam and its base bears the caption *Babylon.* Above are six *loci*, three on either side, which seem to ascribe a circular motion to history, for Abraham and his seed, emerging on the left side from Babylon and passing up and round through the *loci* of conflict, return to Babylon on the right. The conception comes very near to the wheel of fortune which, indeed, is clearly suggested by the design in one manuscript,[71] and at first sight seems to represent a wholly pessimistic view of history such as Joachim emphatically rejected. But the conception is really more complex: at the top of the standard, opposite Babylon, the children of Israel pass into a *locus* of victory, peace and glory under David in Jerusalem, before they descend on the other side into Babylon again. This standard is matched in the New Dispensation by a second in which Ozias concords with Adam and Rome (i.e. the *Imperium*) with Babylon; the new Israel of the Church emerges from pagan Rome and returns finally to captivity under the imperial domination of the Germans, but at the top of the standard her apotheosis is represented by *Silvester Papa*, *Ecclesia*, in concordance with David.

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[66] Plate XIX; *Lib. Fig.*, pl. xxii.

[67] *Lib. Fig.*, Pl. xi.

[68] Plate XX; *Lib. Fig.*, Pl. xxiii.

[69] On the Cistercian order see *Lib. Conc.*, fols. 11*r*, 23*r*, 57*v*–59*v*, 84*r*, 94*v*.

In spite of the circular movement of these figures, one has the feeling that the two Jerusalems dominate over the two Babylons and that the real end of history is symbolised at the top of the standards in moments of glory which remain triumphant even when, as historical events, they are passed and the fortunes of Israel are on the decline. Joachim is here struggling with the perpetual problem of any Christian view of history: how to reconcile the elements of optimism and pessimism. His conception of the third *status* has misled many, both contemporary and later, into crediting him with a far too facile optimism. Close study of his writings shows that for Joachim even the third *status* must decline somewhat into evil,[72] and always, interwoven with his expectation of progress into the third *status*, there exists the concept of the two great forces of good and evil, Jerusalem and Babylon, locked in conflict from the beginning of time until the end, although the battle is already won.

In a later thirteenth-century figure-collection two similar tree-standards appear.[73] Here, however, the 'trees' actually spring from Cain and Romulus, founders of the old and new Babylons. This suggests that they are really trees of evil, yet they are still crowned by David and Silvester. It seems probable that spurious elements have been thrust into this figure and that in Joachim's conception the tree-standards never sprang from evil. Nonetheless, it is notable that when Joachim wishes to represent not only the fruition of history but also its conflict he does so in tree form, yet not in the current convention of a simple pair of contrasted trees, of good and evil, virtues and vices, but in these strange figures which do violence to the tree concept and seem to suggest that one tree bears two contrasted fruits.

The tree-figures of the *Liber Figurarum* may be seen to have certain affinities with current twelfth-century tradition. The trees springing from Biblical persons at once suggest the Jesse tree, as does the use of genealogies and generations.[74] The symbolical use of branches, foliage and fruit recalls the trees of virtues and vices in which spiritual and moral qualities had already found expression in terms of organic growth. The idea of embodying 'churches' in trees had already been seen in some of these trees which were made to spring from the *Ecclesia Bona* and the *Ecclesia Mala.* The mingling of tree and ladder may derive from the existing connection between Jesse's tree and Jacob's ladder, while the importance of Mary in these tree-ladders suggests an echo of the identification of the *Virgo* with the *Virga* of the root of Jesse. The Babylon/Rome tree-standards may contain an oblique reference to the 'sinful root' which is contrasted with the root of Jesse.[75] Yet all Joachim's trees remain unique in the ideas they embody and the designs in which they seek to express the whole of history and, more especially, its final stage of blessedness.

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[70] *Lib. Fig.*, Pls. xvi. xvii.

[71] MS., Dresden A. 121, fol. 94*v*.

[72] M. Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, 'The Seven Seals in the Writings of Joachim of Fiore,' *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et medievale*, xxi, 1954, pp. 222–223 and the references given therein.

[73] M. Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, 'The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore: Genuine and Spurious Collections', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, iii, 1954, pp. 188–189.

Joachim struggled to find adequate expression for his vision but he never wholly succeeded in translating a mystical inspiration into the diagrammatic medium which presented itself to his mind. His trees have their beauty—a beauty of order and of correspondence, of pattern and of symmetry—but they are essentially diagrams, static in form and designed as the vehicles of a whole intellectual system of ideas which sometimes clutter the figures with detailed concordances. Thus the tree-eagles, with their arrangement of five and seven 'feathers' bearing captions of tribes and churches, form a strangely artificial expression of a profoundly prophetical hope. A comparison with Dante, who almost certainly used this very figure of Joachim's, at once springs to mind.[76] Dante's use of number symbolism and concords is at least as intricate, but these things are subordinated to the clear poetic expression of his inspiration: his eagle mounts aloft unhampered by such devices as Joachim used. It is perhaps permissible to see the difference between them symbolised in a contrast of trees. All Joachim's trees grow upwards from the soil of history: they aspire towards the eternal order but they are rooted in humanity. To Dante the ultimate vision of the tree is of that timeless one which flourishes in Paradise and grows downwards from the heights of the Divine:

> che viva della cima
> e frutta sempre e mai non perde foglia.
> (*Paradiso*, canto xviii, lines 29–30).

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[74] See *Expositio*, fol. 111*r*, where, in commenting on Rev. v. 4, Joachim deals directly with the theme of the Jesse tree.

[75] See *Lib. Conc.*, fol. 4*v*, for a reference to Antiochus, *radix peccati.*

[76] On Joachim and Dante, see L. Tondelli, *Il Libro delle Figure dell'Abate Gioachino da Fiore* (2nd ed., Turin, 1953), i, 217–399. I hope in a subsequent article to deal with the influence of Joachim's trees on later writers.

FEDERICO II E FERDINANDO III DI CASTIGLIA

L'illustre studioso spagnolo Ramón Menéndez Pidal ha recentemente tracciato una suggestiva comparazione tra Federico II ed Alfonso X il Savio, basandosi, evidentemente, non su contatti diretti, bensì su analogie di ambiente e di cultura.[1] Ma sono altrettanto interessanti le relazioni tra l'imperatore svevo ed il contemporaneo re di Castiglia, Ferdinando III il Santo (1217–1252).[2] Mentre, infatti, sono abbastanza conosciuti i rapporti di Federico coi re di Francia[3] e d'Inghilterra,[4] gli storici federiciani hanno dedicato solo qualche cenno fugace a quelli col re di Castiglia. In realtà, notevole è il ruolo che giuocano tanto Luigi IX che Enrico III, quali rappresentanti dei due regni nazionali più consolidati, nella polemica tra il Papato e l'Impero; ma anche Ferdinando III, così come gli altri due re iberici d'Aragona e di Portogallo, ad un certo momento, entrò a far parte di quel *corpus principum saecularium*, che Federico II concepì in antitesi all'*imperium spirituale* del papa.[5]

Ma giova senz'altro premettere che i contatti tra l'*imperator* ed il *rex* castigliano non sono avvenuti, come per gli altri re, solo sul piano ufficiale, diplomatico diremmo, ma contengono un motivo che serve a caratterizzare uno degli aspetti più trascurati della personalità del grande imperatore: quello umano.[6] La corrispondenza particolare, infatti—ci soffermeremo ovviamente solo sulle lettere indirizzate a Ferdinando—è improntata a quella 'affinitas,' che legava Svevi e Castigliani. Ferdinando III non è soltanto per Federico il re, ma anche il 'dilectus sororius suus,' colui, cioè, che aveva preso in moglie Beatrice, la figliuola di Filippo di Svevia.[7] Pertanto sottolineiamo il duplice aspetto di questi rapporti che iniziano verso la fine del 1235. Sino adesso, infatti, 'tra Federico e gli altri sovrani d'Occidente erano corsi soltanto rapporti occasionali, e solo quando fu pronunciata la prima scomunica, al tempo della crociata, i sovrani costituirono una specie di forum, per prendere in considerazione avvenimenti che interessavano tutta la Cristianità'.[8] Sino a questo momento, in sostanza, Federico II, rinchiuso nella sua concezione di una 'Europa imperialis,' aveva quasi ignorato i *singuli reges*; li scoprì quando ebbe bisogno, nel momento più critico della sua lotta col Papato, di convogliare verso di sè la solidarietà dei *principes*, i quali, così come le *civitates*, già 'seguivano realmente il Papato, e non trovavano di meglio, per affermarsi, che inserirsi nell'*imperium* papale, prescindendo dalla *subiectio* al sistema tradizionale'.[9]

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[1] R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Sicilia y España ante de las Visperas sicilianas,' *Bollettino del Centro di studi filol. e Ling. sic.*, iii, 1955, p. 5 ss.

[2] A. De La Torre nel suo lavoro sopra le 'Relaciones de España con Federico II y el Imperio' (in *Atti del Conv. Intern. di Studi Federiciani*, Palermo, 1952, p. 161 ss.) tace delle relazioni dirette tra Federico II e Ferdinando III di Castiglia.

[3] Sui rapporti con la Francia, cfr. soprattutto M. Schwann, 'Ludwig der Heilige von Frankreich und seine Beziehungen zu Kaiser und Papst, *Zeitschrift für allgem. Geschichte*, iv (1887); É. Berger, *Saint Louis IX et Innocent IV*, Paris, 1893; Werner Meyer, *Ludwig IX von Frankreich und Innocenz IV*, diss. Marburg, 1915.

[4] Sulle relazioni con l'Inghilterra, cfr. H. Liebschütz, *Die Beziehungen Kaiser Friedrichs II zu England*, 1235–1250, diss. Heidelberg, 1921.

[5] Sulla pubblicistica del tempo, cfr. soprattutto: F. Graefe, *Die Publizistik in der letzten Epoche Kaiser Friedrichs II*, Heidelberg, 1909; O. Vehse, *Die amtliche Propaganda in der Staatskunst Kaiser Friedrichs II*, München, 1929; A. De Stefano, *L'idea imperiale di Federico II*, 2 ed., Bologna, 1952, p. 84 ss; E. Kantorowicz, *Federico secondo di Svevia*, trad. ital., Milano, 1940, p. 385 ss; S. Mochi Onory, 'La crisi federiciana del Sacro Romano Impero,' in *Atti Conv. Studi Feder.*, cit. p. 19 ss.

[6] Per questo aspetto della personalità di Federico II, cfr. A. De Stefano, *op. cit.*, p. 203 ss.

[7] Su questo matrimonio, v. L. Serrano, *D. Mauricio obispo de Burgos*, Madrid, 1922; A. De La Torre, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[8] Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

Pertanto, è possibile comprendere come la Castiglia, allo stesso modo degli altri *regna*, riesca a mantenere una posizione di equilibrio tra le due concezioni antitetiche.

Se seguiamo da vicino le relazioni tra Ferdinando III e Federico II, ci sarà possibile cogliere l'orientamento del primo, gli accostamenti all'una o all'altra concezione politica. Secondo le testimonianze pervenuteci, l'iniziativa di un avvicinamento della Castiglia all'imperatore partì dalla regina Beatrice, la quale, poco prima di morire, sul finire del 1235, inviò a Federico, che si trovava ad Hagenau, 'bellissimi destrieri e magnifici doni.'[10] Nè poteva essere altrimenti, dato che Ferdinando III si trovava in questo periodo di tempo impegnato nella lotta contro i Mori e si avviava verso la conquista di Cordova, che accadrà nel 1236.[11] Tuttavia, nel 1238, anche la Castiglia aderiva all'invito imperiale di partecipare alla lotta contro i comuni, dato che, all'assedio di Brescia, troviamo i 'milites Yspanie,' la cui presenza, insieme con quelli di Francia e d'Inghilterra, veniva a sancire in modo tangibile la solidarietà del *corpus principum saecularium* all'azione politica e militare di Federico.[12]

Intanto la crisi nei rapporti tra il Papato e l'Impero sfociava nella scomunica dell'agosto 1239. In questo difficile momento s'introduceva nella polemica Ferdinando, con due azioni altamente significative. Da una parte egli inviava lettere e doni a Federico, dimostrando la sua simpatia per la causa imperiale.[13] E l'imperatore non tardava a rispondergli 'sinceritate quam exegit auctoritas et affectione quam intulit affinitas personarum,' congratulandosi col re per i successi riportati contro i nemici ed accettando i cavalli donati come 'manifestum indicium' della volontà del re castigliano di contribuire alla vittoria imperiale.[14] Dall'altra, sul finire dello stesso anno 1239, Ferdinando decideva di intervenire direttamente come mediatore di pace tra Federico e Gregorio IX. Tale decisione rappresenta la risposta positiva del re castigliano al famoso appello imperiale dell'aprile di quell'anno : 'Levate in circuitu oculos vestros, arrigite, fili hominum aures vestras!' e dimostra come da parte regia si considerasse il pericolo che correva l'imperatore come pericolo comune a tutti i principi ('totus mundus agnoscat, quod honor omnium tangitur, quicunque de corpore secularium principum offendatur').[15]

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[9] Mochi Onory, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Ma vedi pure le considerazioni del De Stefano (*op. cit.*, p. 87 ss.).

[10] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, in *SS.RR.GG. in u. schol.*, Hannover, 1880, p. 268 : 'Ibidem nuncii regine Hyspanie affuerunt, qui pulcherrimos dextrarios et magnifica munera cesari attulerunt. Nec multo post eiusdem regine mors est nunciata imperatori; unde plurimum doluit, quia patruelis eius fuit.'

[11] E' notevole la ripercussione che la presa di Cordova ebbe nei cronisti filoimperiali, come ad es., Riccardo di S. Germano (*Chronica*, in *RR.II.SS.*, ed. Garufi, p. 191). La Castiglia è menzionata anche nella *Chron. Regia Colon.* (ed. cit., p. 262), mentre la *Chron. univers. Turicensis* (in *SS.RR.GG. in u. schol.*, Hannover, 1912, p. 113) accenna alla scoperta a Toledo durante il regno di Ferdinando III di un codice trilingue.

[12] *Ann. Placent.*, ad a. : 'Erant enim cum eo patriarcha Aquilegensis, archiepiscopus Collonie et Magoncie, milites regis Anglie, Francie et Yspanie.'

[13] U. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Hist. Diplom. Friderici II*, v, 370 s. : lettera dell'agosto 1239.

[14] *Ibidem.*, v, 370.

[15] *M. G. H.*, *Const.*, ii, 290. Cfr. le osservazioni su questa protesta federiciana fatte dal De Stefano (*op. cit.*, p. 92) e dal Mochi Onory (*op. cit.*, p. 27 s.).

E', però, opportuno sottolineare come quello di Ferdinando non sia solo l'intervento di un re in favore dell'imperatore, ma anche del parente, che si rivolge al papa a titolo personale, in nome dei meriti acquisiti nella lotta in difesa della fede. Ferdinando, infatti, non mette in dubbio, di fronte a Gregorio IX, che l'imperatore 'in sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam, que eum curiosa nutrivit et mirabiliter exaltavit, multipliciter deliquisse et eam adeo ad iracundiam provocasse, quod opus fuit, ut manu Domini tangeretur'; ma, nello stesso tempo, si chiede, in termini di conciliazione: 'Nunquid pati potest pia mater, et non compatitur filius? Nunquid dolet sedes apostolica, et exultare potest fidelis? Nunquid turbato capite membra vigere noscuntur?'[16] Pertanto, egli, consapevole della misericordia divina, ha deciso di occuparsi del caso di Federico II, affinchè 'la bontà del padre recuperi il figlio e la Chiesa non sia privata del suo atleta.'[17]

Come può osservarsi, questa di Ferdinando a Gregorio IX, è una lettera che al di sopra di ogni polemica cerca di toccare l'animo del pontefice, di predisporlo al perdono. Non è nella sua sostanza una difesa dell'operato dell'imperatore—nè poteva esserlo—ma un intervento di Ferdinando in favore del parente che, come egli stesso afferma, 'quantum cum Deo possumus multipliciter tenemur diligere.'[18]

La missione dell'inviato del re presso la curia, l'abbate di S. Facondo, non sortì l'effetto desiderato. Tuttavia non per questo i rapporti tra Federico e Ferdinando s'interruppero: un nuovo motivo intervenne a tenerli vicini: l'arrivo in Italia, nell'aprile del '40, dell'infante Federico di Castiglia, che veniva a recuperare l'eredità materna custodita dall'imperatore.[19] Lo Svevo si dimostrò lietissimo di ospitare alla sua corte il nipote 'cesaree susceptibilem discipline,' la cui presenza avrebbe impedito lo spezzarsi, dopo la morte della madre, del vincolo di parentela.[20] Il soggiorno presso l'imperatore di Federico di Castiglia costituì il motivo principale di due lettere imperiali indirizzate a Ferdinando III. L'una, del settembre 1240,[21] annunzia in primo luogo l'accrescersi dei successi di Federico II e l'assedio e la prossima caduta di Faenza; son queste le notizie 'communis prosperitatis.' Seguono, poi, le notizie intorno all'infante Federico. Questi, secondo l'imperatore, si è dimostrato degno di quelle qualità che si addicono ad un'indole regia; non solo, ma lo stesso Federico II stava interessandosi come un padre, 'ad instructionem in moribus et amplificationem in rebus'.[22] L'altra lettera è del 1245 ed è l'annunzio del cadere di tutte queste speranze. Federico di Castiglia, infatti, dimostrandosi indegno della fiducia in lui riposta, era passato dalla parte dei ribelli. Comprendiamo, quindi, l'accoramento con cui l'imperatore ne scrive a Ferdinando III: 'Vellemus potius tacere quam loqui, cum sit quodammodo de plus quam civili bello materia, dum aliene culpe damnantes infamiam, genus nostrum utcunque notabile cernimus, et post verbalis plage convicium, quod aliis damnantes infligimus, ex cuiusdam identitatis lege qua jungimur, in nobis relinquimus cicatricem.'[23]

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[16] *M. G. H.*, *Epist. saec. XIII*, i, Berlino, 1883, p. 660: lettera del 4 dicembre 1239.

[17] *Ibidem.*

[18] *Ibidem.* Sulla missione dell'abbate di S. Facondo, cfr. anche la lettera della regina Berengaria a Gregorio IX in data 5 dicembre 1239 (*Ibidem.*, i, 662, n. 762). V. pure R. Oke, *The Boy from Apulia*, London, 1936, p. 221.

[19] V. la lettera con cui Ferdinando III raccomanda il figlio al papa (*M. G. H. Epist.*, cit., i, 661, n. 761 = Huillard-Bréholles, v, 545 s.). Per l'arrivo di Federico di Castiglia in Italia, cfr. Ricc. di S. Germano, ed. cit., p. 205: 'Eodem mense (aprile) filius regis Castelle ad Imperatorem apud Fogiam venit.'

[20] Huillard-Bréholles, v, 991: lettera del maggio 1240.

[21] *Ibidem*, v, 1047: lettera del settembre 1240.

[22] *Ibidem.* La lettera continua: 'Illis votis intendimus et affectibus aspiramus ut effectu pateat quod cum non tam ad avunculum transmisisse vestra serenitas gaudere merito valeat quam ad patrem.'

Il commento al gesto del nipote è alquanto acre; l'imperatore lo chiama senz'altro 'a genere generoso degeneris,' ingrato, avendo osato offendere il sangue imperiale e quello regio.[24]

L'abbandono di Federico di Castiglia, avviene, d'altra parte, nel momento in cui a Lione si decideva della sorte imperiale; quando, cioè, il turbamento interiore dell'imperatore è grande, quando egli avverte il logorio della lunga lotta e si sente tradito da coloro i quali avrebbero dovuto maggiormente sostenerlo. Non a caso, secondo noi, Federico II volle narrare al nipote Alfonso di Castiglia—il futuro Alfonso X il Savio—la storia del tradimento di uomini di notevole rilievo, come Tibaldo Francesco, Guglielmo di Sanseverino, Andrea Cicala, Pandolfo Fasanella e Jacopo di Morra.[25] Sono senza dubbio cose tristi, ma dalle quali è possibile trarre insegnamento; sono gli 'enormes excessus,' cui, per necessità di cose, non poté questa volta far riscontro la 'augusta clementia,' dato che i ribelli, che l'imperatore aveva allevato presso di sè 'con dolcezza paterna,' erano da considerarsi alla stregua dei 'perfidi parricidi'; gente che aveva offeso, dimenticando benefizi e fedeltà, Dio e gli uomini. Pertanto, Federico II volle adottare nel castigo la *lex Pompeia* sui parricidi,[26] facendo buttare in mare i colpevoli, in modo che alla loro fine contribuissero tutti gli elementi.[27] Ma nelle parole di Federico II, che si attarda a descrivere anche la presa del castello di Capaccio,[28] possiamo cogliere i motivi per cui l'imperatore sentiva il bisogno di giustificare, non solo di fronte all'opinione pubblica, ma anche e soprattutto dinnanzi alla sua coscienza il suo operato. Egli, infatti, ispirò la sua azione alla 'divina justicia' e considerò i ribelli 'sceleris nefandissimi patratores et contra nos divine potentie contemptores';[29] ne parla, poi, in quanto desidera che tutti conoscano le enormità commesse, 'ut quatenus motus nostros in eos augusta clementia temperat, eatenus ab omnibus nostra modestia clarior censeatur.'[30]

Una lettera imperiale di grande importanza conclude la corrispondenza tra Federico II e Ferdinando III. Essa è del giugno 1250[31] e contiene sia la puntualizzazione, per quell'epoca, dei rapporti Papato-Impero, sia il punto di vista federiciano per quanto riguarda i suoi rapporti coi *singuli reges* e col re di Castiglia in particolare. 'Pensantes amoris affectum, quem ad vos semper habuimus hactenus et habemus illesum, firmiter credimus ut sicut nos honorem vestrum et commoda libenter amplectitur, sic vos vice mutua diligatis et nostra, que maxime causam vestram aliorumque regum et principum immediate contingunt, et in quibus non minus vestrum quam nostrum vertitur interesse.'[32] A questo concetto segue l'altro sulla posizione del papa nei confronti dei principi: 'L'ambizione del pontefice, a scapito dell'onore imperiale, ha tentato sempre fino ad ora di confondere i nostri diritti e di conculcare le braccia della nostra potenza, facendo deporre il principe romano, affinchè essa, nella sua cupidigia, possa più agevolmente penetrare presso i re e gli altri principi.'[33] D'altra parte, quest'affermazione la ritroviamo anche in altre lettere federiciane.[34]

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[23] Huillard-Bréholles, v, 340: lettera del 9 luglio 1245.

[24] *Ibidem*, p. 341.

[25] Su questa ribellione, cfr. Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 476 ss.

[26] Huillard-Bréholles, vi, 438 ss.: lettera del 21 luglio 1246. Cfr. pure, Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

[27] Huillard-Bréholles, vi, 438–439: 'Si tanquam perfidos patricidas inter ferales angustias comprehensos in vicinum mare projicimus ut omnium elementorum usu carere viventes incipiant.'

[28] *Ibidem*, v, pure, Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

[29] Huillard-Bréholles, vi, 439.

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 438.

[31] *Ibidem*, vi, 769 ss.

[32] *Ibidem*.

Federico II, poi, passa a stigmatizzare il fatto che il papa, non curandosi del danno che deriva a tutti dalla sua lotta contro l'imperatore, si ostini a perseguitare i cristiani, dimenticando l'opportunità di una crociata contri i veri nemici della Chiesa. Egli è sempre disposto 'per l'onore della fede cattolica a riverire la sacrosanta Chiesa di Roma in tutto come una madre, a considerare il papa come un padre, se questi lo trattasse, con il debito riguardo, come un figlio.'[35] Purtroppo, egli aggiunge, 'in negocio ipso jura nostra defendimus, ut non solum nobis, sed vobis et principibus aliis gloriam de nostra defensione portemus.'

Federico II, quindi, sottolinea la 'neutralità' di Ferdinando III di fronte al dissidio tra potere spirituale e potere temporale. E fa ciò in termini molto espliciti: 'Vos tamen, quorum in hoc non minus vestra causa quam nostra nunc agitur, et in quos de facili posset hujusmodi refundi negocium, sic aperte videmini presentia facta negligere, vel super eis potius dormitare, tanquam si vos in nulla parte contingerent, et de honore nostro cura vobis sollicitudinis non adesset. Quis enim cautele modus in vobis et regibus aliis in casu simili remaneret, si causam ipsam Romanus Augustus desereret? Vel quorum humeri ad onera ista portanda sufficerent, si colla nostra subtrahere ab eorumdem onerum supportatione vellemus?' Le conseguenze di quanto potrà accadere a chi si tenga vicino al papa, Federico le mostra, recando ad esempio quanto è accaduto a Sancio II di Portogallo, che Innocenzo IV nel concilio di Lione (1245), su proposta dei prelati, fece sostituire col fratello Alfonso III.[36] Ecco, quindi, l'esempio che Ferdinando deve sempre tener presente. Da parte sua, invece, l'imperatore si preoccupa sempre di tutto quanto possa riguardare i re: così, ad esempio, delle sfortunate vicende egiziane di Luigi IX, al quale, nonostante la lotta contro i ribelli, l'imperatore cercherà di portare aiuto.[37]

Con questo appello, che ci permette di ripensare il problema del conflitto tra i due massimi poteri universali del Medioevo e l'impostazione e la penetrazione presso i singoli re della concezione federiciana del *corpus principum saecularium*, si concludono i rapporti tra Federico II e Ferdinando III di Castiglia. D'altro canto, una maggiore collaborazione tra l'Impero e la Castiglia non poteva esser possibile, dato che Ferdinando il Santo aveva tutto l'interesse a non pregiudicare in alcun modo la sua posizione internazionale, essendo impegnato in quella *reconquista* che doveva portarlo dalla conquista di Cordova a quella di Jaen, Siviglia e Cadice. L'*affinis* cercò, nei limiti delle sue possibilità, di aiutare l'*affinis*, ma il *rex* rimase sostanzialmente estraneo alle concezioni politiche dell'*imperator*.

FRANCESCO GIUNTA

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[33] *Ibidem.*

[34] In merito, cfr. De Stefano, *op. cit.*, p. 90 ss.

[35] Huillard-Bréholles, vi, 769.

[36] *Ibidem*, l.c.: 'Requirimus igitur et affectionem vestram rogamus attente quatenus diligentius advertentes qualiter summus pontifex suis viribus, qui nihil habere debet cum gladio, non contentus, in alienam messem falcem presumptuosus immittit, et ut non longe petatur a vobis exemplum, qualiter in regno Portugalie honoris sibi usurpaverit dignitatem, curas vestras et animos excitetis.' Per l'affare portoghese, cfr. Raynaldi, *Ann. Eccl.* ad a. 1245 e 1247.

[37] Si allude alla cattura da parte dei Musulmani di Luigi IX, battuto l'8 febbraio 1250 a Mansoura, in Egitto. Il re di Francia venne liberato l'8 maggio. Cfr. Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 369 ss.

LE TESTAMENT DU CARDINAL RICHARD PETRONI

(25 janvier 1314)

Sous les voûtes de la cathédrale de Sienne, remis en place et reconstitué, comme on le désirait, dans sa majesté première, depuis le 1er juillet 1951,[1] se trouve le beau tombeau du cardinal Richard Petroni, mort à Gênes au mois de février 1314,[2] par le sculpteur Tino di Camaino.[3]

Les chroniques siennoises contemporaines[4] rapportent l'évènement de la translation du corps de ce fils illustre de la République, de son entrée solennelle à Sienne, le dimanche 31 mars 1314, et de son enterrement en la cathédrale.[5] Il faut relire ce récit, rédigé dans la plus pure langue toscane,[6] dans cette ville de Sienne, si fière de son passé et toute résonnante des cadences du plus beau parler d'Italie.

Le 24 février 1700, un pèlerin fameux, le bénédictin Bernard de Montfaucon retournant en France, entrait, après un violent tremblement de terre, dans la ville de Sienne. Il en visitait la cathédrale et y voyait le tombeau du Cardinal Petroni qui s'élevait 'près de la chapelle de St. Jean'. Il recopia l'inscription placée, en 1664, lors de la réédification du tombeau par Lodovico Domenico Vecchi, 'operaio' du Dôme.[7]

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[1] La tombe du cardinal a été reconstituée dans sa forme originale et placée au-dessus du dernier autel de la nef de gauche de la cathédrale. L'inscription placée à côté de la tombe dit : 'Monumentum hoc / Cardinalis petroni / illustris litherarum cultoris / Quod Tinus filius Camaini sculpsit / tertio iam proinde amotum / ob bellica vices / annorum MCMXL–MCMXLIV / dein ab architecto E. Bellini / in pristinum redditum splendorem / Humbertus comes Del Vescovo Sterbini / Metropolitanae Operae Rector / restituendum curavit / Kalendis Iuliis a.d. MCMLI.'

[2] Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, Monasterii, 1913, p. 13. La date de sa mort est donnée erronément comme le 3 mars, par les Chroniques siennoises. Le canonicat et la prébende de Poitiers qui appartenaient à Petroni sont dites vacantes dès le 19 février 1314 (*Reg. Clem. V, ed. studio . . . monach. benedict.*, anno nono, Roma, 1888, n. 10242, p. 71). De même le canonicat et la prébende de Cambrai (*ibid.*, n. 10268, p. 81). L'église et monastère 'de Alberitio,' au diocèse de Sovana, qui lui appartenaient aussi sont dites vacantes le 20 février 1314 (*ibid.*, n. 10353). Contelori (v. ci-dessous, p. 143 n. 14) donne la date du 10 février, Chacon (v. ci-dessous, p. 143, n. 14) celle du 26 février. Eubel reprend la date de Contelori. La date erronée de la translation du corps (1317), donnée par plusieurs auteurs, doit être attribuée à une erreur de Girolamo Gigli (*Diario senese*, v. ci dessous, p. 143, n. 13).

[3] Sur ce tombeau voir : N. R. Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino*, Paris, 1935, pp. 47–56 et pl. 18–20; Enzo Carli, *Sculture del duomo di Siena*, Torino, 1941, pp. 25–31, pl. 28–40; Vittorio Lusini, *Il duomo di Siena*, Siena, 1911, i, 115–118.

[4] *Frammento di una cronachetta senese di anonimo del sec. XIV* (Siena, 1893), p. 7 (passage cité par Lusini, *op. cit.*, i, 115); *Cronaca senese di autore anonimo*, 1202–1362 (ed. Alessandro Lisini e Fabio Iacometti, Bologna, s.d. : Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*,^{2} t. xv, parte vi, pp. 99–100; *Cronaca senese attribuita ad Agnolo di Tura del Grasso detta la Cronaca maggiore* 1300–1381 (*ibid.*), p. 342.

[5] Le cardinal fut enterré 'au pied de l'autel de Ste. Marie' (*Cronachetta* . . . , p. 115), 'au pied de l'autel de Ste. Catherine' (*Cronaca senese di autore anonimo*, p. 100; Agnolo di Tura, p. 342). Le tombeau commandé au célèbre Tino de Camaino fut sans doute terminé vers 1318 d'après les documents conservés à l'Opera del Duomo (Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, Siena, 1854, vol. i, nn. 31/32, pp. 181–183). Dès 1350 on forma le projet de mouvoir la sépulture du cardinal (Vittorio Lusini, *op. cit.*, i, 181–182). En 1404, on défit les autels du choeur, sans toucher cependant à l'autel de Ste. Catherine, placé sous le monument du cardinal (Lusini, *op. cit.*, i, 259). En 1486 la construction de la chapelle de S. Giovanni provoqua le déplacement provisoire du tombeau. Au 17e siècle, il fut placé très haut. C'est là que le vit le bénédictin Bernard de Montfaucon. Les historiens de l'art (R. Valentiner, *op. cit.*, p. 47) durent grimper très haut pour étudier de près les magnifiques statues et scènes inspirées du plus pur art siennois à la plus belle époque.

[6] L'antiquaire Celso Cittadini (*Trattato della vera origine di nosira lingua*, Venezia, 1601) considérait ces chroniques comme les meilleurs textes toscans (*Cronache senesi, éd. cit.*, introduzione, p. xiv).

[7] Montfaucon, *Diarium italicum*, Parisiis, 1702, p. 344.

Est-ce à la cathédrale que Bernard de Montfaucon vit un manuscrit qu'on disait écrit de la main du cardinal Petroni et qui contenait l'histoire des origines de Sienne?[8] A la bibliothèque communale de Sienne, on conserve une copie du XVIIe/XVIIIe siècle : *Reperta inter scripta Cardinalis Petroni* et qui contient en effet des notes sur l'histoire de Sienne.[9] L'original ayant été vu par Bernard de Montfaucon nous garantit l'attribution de cette copie.[10] Cette tradition mérite d'être relevée.

Le cardinal Richard Petroni est fameux, surtout, pour son oeuvre de juriste : il fut chargé par Boniface VIII de rédiger le 6e livre des Décrétales, le Sexte.[11]

Les Petroni faisaient partie de la noblesse dite 'dei feudi,' et depuis 1292, 'del monte dei Nove.'[12] Ils apparaissent constamment dans tous les documents de la République siennoise. Ambassadeurs, légats, magistrats ils jouent un rôle important dans l'histoire de leur patrie. Très attachés aux pratiques religieuses, leur famille comptera, après le cardinal, de nombreux ecclésiastiques, et deux bienheureux.[13]

Sur le *curriculum vitae* de Richard Petroni de Sienne, nous ne savons pas beaucoup de choses. Sa date de naissance est inconnue. Toute la première partie de sa vie est passée sous silence par les biographes et par les bibliographes.[14]

Nous savons seulement par les documents utilisés par les anciens historiographes de Sienne, parfois excellents, comme Girolamo Gigli, qui indiquent leurs sources (contrats, archives de la gabelle, livre du Conseil) qu'il était le fils de Pietro di

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 349. Cf. p. 344.

[9] MS. B. III, 3, fol. 79. Lorenzo Ilari, *La biblioteca pubblica di Siena disposta secondo le materie*, vi, Siena, 1847, p. 285.

[10] Les manuscrits de la cathédrale de Sienne ont été en partie dispersés (voir V. Lusini, *Duomo*, ii, 172–173). Dans les inventaires du 14e-15e siècle, publiés par Lusini, nous ne trouvons mentionnée que la 'Bible laissée par le cardinal Petroni' (inv. de 1391) dont nous parlerons ci-dessous (p. 152, n. 13).

[11] *Liber Sextus Decretalium*, ed. Aemilius Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, Lipsiae, 1881, p. 934. Cf. A. Chacon, cité ci-dessous (n. 14), p. 332; B. Hauréau, 'Quels sont les auteurs du Sixième livre des Décrétales,' *Journal des Savants*, 1884, pp. 271–273; Georges Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint Siège de 1285 à 1304*, Paris, 1936, i, 357; T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII*, London, 1933, p. 92.

[12] *Origine ristretto delle Famiglie nobili di Siena, estratte da Libri pubblici dal sigr. Celso Cittadini il maggior archivista d'Europa dei nostri tempi, e Professore della Toscana Favella che morì l'anno* 1626. Siena, Biblioteca comunale, AC 28, fol. 14r., fol. 21r.

[13] Voir surtout Gigli, *Diario senese*, Lucca, 1723, i, 83–86, sur les principales personnalités de la famille Petroni.

[14] Konrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca . . .* , Tiguri, 1574, p. 604; Orlando Malavolti, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Sanesi, così esterne come civili*, Venetia, 1599, seconda parte, libro quarto, fol. 73r.; Alonso Chacon, *Vitae et gesta summorum Pontificum a Christo domino usque ad Clementem VIII, necnon S. R. E. Cardinalium* . . . Romae, 1601, ii, 650 (cf. ed. 1677, p. 332); Lucas Wadding, *Annales minorum ad ann.* 1312, 2e éd., Ad Claras Aquas, 1931, p. 219–220; Giugurta Tommasi, *Dell'historia di Siena*, parte secunda, Venezia, 1626, pp. 189–190; Felice Contelori, *Elenchus . . . cardinalium*, Romae, 1641, p. 7; Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le Pompe senesi*, Pistoia, 1649, fol. 45, 75, 110, 128; Steph. Baluzius, *Vitae paparum Avinionensium*, éd. G. Mollat, t. ii, Paris, 1928, pp. 112, 136, 137, 150, 174, 235; Guido Panziroli, *De claris legum interpretibus libri quatuor*, Lipsiae, 1721, cap. XLVIII, pp. 134–135; Gigli, *Diario senese*, i, 83; Giangiuseppe Origlia, *Istoria dello Studio di Napoli*, Napoli, 1753, i, 151–159.

Passons maintenant aux historiens modernes qui le citent en passant : Heinrich Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, Münster in W., 1902, pp. xlvii, liv, lix; le même, *Acta aragonensia*, i, Berlin, 1908, pp. 181–182, 184, 189; Richard Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz VIII* (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen, Heft 6/8), Stuttgart, 1903, p. 155. Georges Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe le Bel*, Paris, 1910, pp. 14, 19, 197, 272; Lusini, *Duomo*, i, 115–116. Voir l'index pour être complet; M. Meyers, *Iuris interpretes saec. XIII*, Napoli, 1925, p. 217; Boase, *Boniface VIII*, pp. 92, 198, 320, 346, 349–350; A. Van Hove, *Prolegomena*, Malines, 1945, pp. 363–364; Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint Siège*, i, 357; ii, 154, 180, 183, 203. Pour des auteurs chartreux, v. p. 149, n. 2.

Enfin, à la famille Petroni s'est intéressé : Vittorio Petroni, 'Un documento inedito sul Beato Petrone Petroni certosino,' *Bullettino Senese*, lvi, 1949, pp. 130–143, avec un arbre généalogique des Petroni extrait des notes laissées par le généalogiste Celso Cittadini (Archivio di Stato, Siena, Famiglie); 'Il giurista Riccardo Petroni e il suo sepolcro in Duomo,' article signé sous le pseudonyme P. Magneschi dans *La Patria*, sabato 27 luglio 1946.

Diotisalvi qui fit partie du Grand Conseil depuis 1252 et fut à diverses reprises ambassadeur de la République siennoise.[15] Consacré aux études de droit civil et canonique, le jeune Richard Petroni, d'après Ugurgieri[16] fut lecteur en droit en la ville de Sienne. Etudia-t-il le droit à Bologne? C'est probable. Depuis Ugurgieri, les auteurs répètent qu'il fut appelé par Charles Ier d'Anjou à Naples, pour y 'lire' le Droit à l'Université fondée en 1266 par ce prince.[17] Les rapports très étroits qui attachaient Charles Ier d'Anjou à la Toscane, dont il était le 'Paciero' depuis 1267 rendent tout à fait explicable cette nomination aussi bien que l'excellent renom du jeune juriste. Nous trouverons d'ailleurs dans son testament[18] beaucoup de références à ce séjour de Naples, auquel Richard Petroni était resté fort attaché. Mais sur les dates de ce séjour nous ne pouvons rien dire pour le moment.[19]

Ce n'est que depuis le 28 février 1290 que nous pouvons suivre Richard Petroni, pas à pas, jusqu'à sa mort. Et ceci grâce aux publications des registres des lettres des Papes qui nous permettent de retracer, au moins schématiquement, sa carrière.

A cette date 'Maître Richard' est déjà chanoine de l'église de Cambrai.[20] Sous Boniface VIII il est, le 7 juillet 1296, dispensé de la résidence comme chanoine de Rouen. Le 13 août 1296 il se trouve à Anagni comme vice-chancelier[21] de l'Eglise, le 21 décembre de la même année nous le trouvons chevecier de l'église cathédrale de Poitiers et dispensé de la résidence, mais pouvant recevoir entièrement toutes les rentes de ce bénéfice.[22] Il conservera ces bénéfices sa vie durant.[23]

Depuis le 4 décembre 1298, Richard Petroni fut élevé par Boniface VIII à la pourpre cardinalice (troisième promotion de ce pape),[24] comme cardinal-diacre de St. Eustache : le Pape lui donnait la diaconie qu'il avait retiré à Jean Colonna.[25] C'est en cette qualité qu'il s'occupe de beaucoup de besognes qui incombent à la charge (remise du pallium, enquêtes diverses, décisions en consistoire), du 28 avril 1299 au 28 août 1303.[26] A cette époque il est encore à la cour du Pape, s'occupant des affaires de l'Eglise.

Nous voici à la veille de l'attentat d'Anagni. On sait que de tous les membres du Sacré Collège deux seulement n'abandonnèrent point Boniface VIII en cette tragique aventure. Lié avec Napoléon Orsini,[27] Richard Petroni est accusé de gibellinisme et de trahison par plusieurs historiens.[28] Il ne semble pas qu'il ait joué un rôle important en cette affaire. Fut-il ami de Mouchet (Musciatto Franzesi), son quasi compatriote, comme on l'a assuré ?[29] Ce serait à contrôler. En tout état de cause son rôle n'est pas éclatant. Des textes cités par Digard et par d'autres un seul le désigne formellement, la chronique d'Orvieto : 'mutato habitu cum puero in brachiis ad locum fratrum minorum tanquam sibi male conscius festinus fugit.'[30]

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[15] Manoscritti Sestigiani cités par Petroni, *Bullettino senese*, lvi, 1949, p. 134; Gigli, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[16] Ugurgieri, *Pompe senesi*, i, 416. Cf. G. Prunai, 'Lo studio senese dalle origini alla 'Migratio' bolognese, sec. XII, 1321,' *Bullettino senese*, lvi, 1949, p. 68. Mais jusqu'à présent on n'a produit aucun document à l'appui.

[17] Meyers, *Iuris interpretes* . . . , p. 363.

[18] Voir ci-dessous, p. 53.

[19] Gennaro Maria Monti, 'L'età angioina,' dans *Storia della Università di Napoli*, 1924, p. 96, dit qu'il n'a pu trouver aucun document sur le séjour de R. P. à Naples, sur lequel l'Origlia (cité ci-dessus, n. 14) ne dit rien de précis, lui non plus. M. Monti suppose seulement que son séjour eut lieu avant 1298; les recherches exécutées à Naples récemment ont été négatives. Nous remercions le Directeur Comte Riccardo Filangieri di Candido et la dott. Iole Mazzoleni.

[20] *Registres de Nicolas IV* (ed. Ernest Langlois, Paris, 1905), no. 228 (t. ii, p. 404).

[21] Les lettres où il apparait comme vice-chancelier sont les nn. 1163 et 1477 de l'édition citée ci-dessous.

[22] *Registres de Boniface VIII* (ed. Georges Digard, Maurice Faucon, Antoine Thomas et Robert Fawtier), t. i, Paris, 1907, nos. 1140, 1163, 1477.

[23] *Regestum Clementis papae V*, anno VIII°, Roma, 1888, nn. 10242, 10268, 10353 : après sa mort ils sont dévolus à d'autres bénéficiaires.

[24] Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, p. 13.

[25] Baluzius, *Vitae paparum avinionensium*, éd. Mollat, ii. 136.

[26] 23 lettres au registre de Boniface VIII dans l'édition citée ci-dessus. Voir aussi Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, p. xlvii : il est consulté par le pape sur des questions juridiques (1302); p. liv : il visite la Tour des Milices à Rome. Scholz, *Publizistik*, p. 155, rapporte, d'après le récit du consistoire du 3 avril 1302 qu'il contribua à la nomination de Henricus de Casaloriciis, favorable au pape Boniface.

[27] Finke, *Aus den Tagen* . . . , p. lix.

Le registre de Benoît XI nous permet de le suivre du 2 novembre 1303 au 20 mai 1304.

Lors de l'élection de Clément V, son rôle fut effacé comme à Anagni. Lié au parti de Napoléon Orsini, il sortit du conclave parce que malade.[31]

Une grande quantité de documents le concernent dans les registres de Clément V:[32] plus d'une cinquantaine de lettres. Les unes sont relatives aux affaires, enquêtes, examens, etc. dont il était chargé. D'autres aux bénéfices dont il était comblé et dont il comblait ses parents et ses familiers.[33] Une lettre lui concède la faculté de tester et disposer librement de tous ses biens même si ceux-ci étaient d'origine ecclésiastique.[34] Nous verrons l'importance de cette concession, qui fut discutée dans la suite.[35]

Nous voici à l'ouverture solennelle du concile de Vienne. Le 16 octobre 1311, le collège cardinalice est réuni au grand complet.[36] Le chroniqueur Giovanni Villani nous rapporte qu'avec deux autres cardinaux le cardinal Petroni défendit en juriste l'orthodoxie du pape Boniface que Philippe le Bel voulait entacher d'hérésie.[37]

Signalons encore l'intervention de Richard Petroni au consistoire secret préparatoire à la canonisation de Célestin V (avril 1313) : tandis que tous les cardinaux ou presque acquiescent aux dépositions des témoins des miracles du futur saint, notre Petroni réclame un supplément d'enquête.[38]

Cependant la maladie minait le cardinal. Entouré de ses familiers, dont il s'occupe avec sollicitude,[39] et de son cher cousin Bindo, prévôt de la cathédrale de Cologne, il demande à rentrer en Italie. Le pape lui accorde d'y retourner pour deux ans.[40]

Ce voyage semble avoir été bien organisé. Auparavant il arrange ses affaires : il pourra encaisser ses rentes, même absent. Le prieur de St. Martin de Sienne est chargé de surveiller ses intérêts à Sienne.[41] Il est pourvu d'un sauf-conduit pour rentrer en Italie,[42] et il quitte la Cour du Pape après le 3 janvier 1314, nous ne savons exactement à quelle date.

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[28] Luigi Tosti, *Storia di Bonifazio VIII e de' suoi tempi*, ii (Milano, 1848), p. 278; Chacon, *Vitae . . .*, p. 332.

[29] Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint Siège*, ii, 154, 180, 184.

[30] *Cronica Urbevetana* (Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, xv (v), p. 203). Le jugement de Boase (*Boniface VIII*, pp. 346, 349–350) semble exact.

[31] Finke, *Acta aragonensia*, i, 181–182, 184, 189; Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe le Bel*, pp. 14, 19.

[32] *Regestum Clementis papae V ex Vaticanis archetypis . . . nunc cura et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, Romae, 1885–1888. Nous avons pu consulter la table manuscrite qui se trouve aux archives du Vatican. Une table imprimée du registre est en préparation, par les soins de l'Ecole française de Rome.

[33] Ces lettres sont trop nombreuses pour que nous les citions toutes. On les trouvera facilement lorsque la table des lettres de Clément V sera publiée

[34] 19 juin 1311 (anno 6°, no. 6901).

[35] Voir ci-dessous p. 148.

[36] Ewald Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne* 1311–1312, Münster in Westfalen, 1934, p. 73.

[37] Giovanni Villani, dans Muratori, *Rerum italicarum Scriptores*, t. xiii, Milano, 1728, 454 D. Cf. Wadding, *Annales minorum ad ann.* 1312, 2e éd. (1931), pp. 219–220. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[38] 'Procès-verbal du dernier consistoire secret préparatoire à la canonisation', *Analecta bollandiana*, xvi (1897), p. 476. Cf. Ludwig Mohler, *Die Kardinäle Jakob und Peter Colonna*, Paderborn, 1914, p. 180; Arsenio Frugoni, *Celestiniana*, Roma, 1954, pp. 110–111.

[39] *Reg. Clementis V*, anno 8°, nn. 9637, 9638, 10016 (3 janvier 1313).

[40] *Ibid.*, no. 10014.

Très préoccupé déjà des monastères qu'il voulait laisser en la ville de Sienne,[43] il demande de pouvoir disposer de l'emplacement occupé autrefois par les frères du Sac à Sienne, et le pape Clément V le lui accorde, le 14 novembre 1313, peu de temps avant sa mort.[44]

Ces membres de la famille Petroni en effet, après une brillante carrière et l'accumulation de grandes richesses combleront la ville de Sienne de fondations pieuses. Nous allons voir le testament du cardinal. Son exécuteur testamentaire et cousin Bindo fondera lui aussi, une chartreuse, celle de Pontignano et s'y retirera (1343). Catelino de Petrone fondera l'hôpital de Ste. Catherine (1355). Nicolaccio, autre cousin du cardinal, et son fils Francesco (mort en 1368) laisseront tous leurs biens pour l'enrichissement des monastères fondés par le cardinal. Petrone Petroni laissera en 1441 un legs pour la construction d'une chapelle dans l'église des Servites de Sienne.[45] Nous nous trouvons en présence, chez cette puissante famille, d'une haute tradition de piété, de charité et de foi.

C'est à Besagno[46] près de Gênes, en l'hôtel de son damoiseau familier Antonius de Camilla,[47] qui avait épousé une Spinola, entouré de ses chapelains et familiers, que le cardinal Richard Petroni dicta son testament, le 25 janvier 1314. La mort ne tarda point.[48]

Cette pièce est peut-être irrémédiablement perdue. Elle était conservée dans les archives du notaire Guglielmo Toringhelli de Lucca, devant lequel l'acte avait été passé. Elle se trouvait encore en 1349 aux archives de la Chambre de Lucques, où fut exécutée une copie authentique sur l'ordre du podestà de Lucques, copie qui servit sans doute à diverses reprises aux héritiers du cardinal et encore un siècle plus tard lors d'une cause civile plaidée devant le podestà de Sienne.[49]

Plusieurs copies de ce testament sont conservées : trois au moins dans les archives de la chartreuse de Maggiano, maintenant aux archives de Sienne. L'une d'elle, peut-être la plus ancienne de toutes, sur papier, doit être, d'après l'écriture, encore du XIVe siècle.[50] La seconde, sur parchemin, beaucoup plus tardive, est la copie de l'acte authentique dont nous avons parlé ci-dessus.[51] La troisième copie des archives de Sienne est du XVIIe/XVIIIe siècle, sur papier. A la bibliothèque du Vatican, dans le fonds de la Reine il se trouve par hasard une copie sur papier du XVe siècle échouée là je ne sais comment, dans un recueil de documents de caractère juridique.[52] C'est cette copie qui fut d'ailleurs à l'origine de ces recherches.

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[41] *Ibid.*, nos. 10017, 10019.

[42] *Ibid.*, no. 10018. Toutes ces lettres sont expédiées le 3 janvier 1313.

[43] Indulgence accordée par Clément V à tous ceux qui visiteraient les *pia loca* qu'il aurait fait construire (*ibid.*, no. 10015).

[44] *Ibid.*, no. 10059.

[45] Voir Gigli, *Diario senese*, pp. 83–86.

[46] Val Bisagno. Voir entre autres, Giulio Miscosi, *I quartieri di Genova antica*, Genova, 1935, pp. 27–31.

[47] Les Camilla étaient une grande famille de Gênes. (V. Georg Caro, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer* 1257–1311, Halle, 1895, index, s.v. Camilla). Dispense accordée par le pape Clément V pour le mariage d'Antonio de Camilla et d'Isabelle Spinola, cousins au quatrième degré (*Reg. cit.*, anno 8°, no. 8969, 3 janvier 1313). Son homonyme fut évêque de Luni à la même époque. Ambassadeur auprès du roi d'Aragon vers 1323 (Arturo Ferretto, *Codice diplomatico delle relazioni fra la Liguria la Toscana e la Lunigiana ai tempi di Dante* (1265–1321). Parte seconda, Roma, 1903, p. cxiii (*Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, xxxi, 2).

[48] V. ci-dessus, p. 142.

[49] Malgré d'actives recherches aux Archives de Lucques, le document ne put être retrouvé par l'archiviste en chef, M. D. Corsi. De Guglielmo Toringhelli il ne reste que des actes de l'année 1343. Voir ci-dessous (p. 155) le texte des souscriptions des notaires de Lucques et de Sienne.

[50] Conservée dans un dossier qui porte la cote A. S. S. Patrimonio dei Resti, Certosa di Maggiano, reg. 1938. Ce dossier contient outre cette copie du 15e et une autre du 18e siècle, le testament de Francesco Petroni, et beaucoup de papiers concernant la succession de celui-ci et les querelles que l'exécution de ce testament suscita entre les légataires. Le papier de ce document n'a point de filigrane. Mesures : 210 × 297 mm.

Les archives de Sienne possèdent, de plus, une collection bien intéressante: celle des quittances laissées à Bindo Petroni,[53] le cousin du cardinal, et son principal exécuteur testamentaire, avec Guillaume Longo,[54] cardinal de St. Nicolas in carcere et l'augustin frère Denis de Sienne.[55] Ces quittances, qui s'échelonnent de 1315 à 1326,[56] sont rédigées et signées par la notaire Guglielmo Toringhelli.[57]

Au XVIIIe siècle, l'historien des chartreux en Italie, Benedetto Tromby, publia le testament de Richard Petroni, d'après une édition d'Arnold Bostius, dans un ouvrage que nous n'avons pu voir.[58] L'édition de Tromby, qui dérive probablement de la copie sur parchemin dont nous avons parlé plus haut, est assez défectueuse. Nous espérons en donner une meilleure, en prenant pour base, en l'absence de l'original non retrouvé, la copie sur papier du XIVe–XVe siècle des archives de la chartreuse de Maggiano, conservée aux Archives d'Etat de Sienne.

Mais l'histoire du testament du cardinal Richard Petroni ne finit point ici: elle ne fait que commencer. Les complications de ce testament, dont on pourra examiner ci-dessous la teneur, les clauses relatives aux substitutions et à l'inaliénabilité des différents legs, la question de savoir si la 'substitutio reciproca' était 'fideicommissaria,' entraînèrent toutes sortes de difficultés et des contestations entre les héritiers.

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[51] Même collection, reg. 1958*bis*. Le dossier contient en outre beaucoup de documents concernant l'exemption de la gabelle. Mesures du document: 195 × 257 mm.

[52] Regina lat. 377, pièce ix, fols. 47–52. Description du manuscrit dans André Wilmart, *Codices reginenses latini*, ii (1945), 377.

[53] Ce Bindo fut un assez grand personnage. Il était docteur en droit, notaire apostolique, prévôt de l'église cathédrale de Cologne depuis le 30 janvier 1306 (*Reg. Clem. V*, anno I°, p. 56, n. 314). Suivant l'exemple du cardinal, il fonda en 1343 la belle chartreuse de Pontignano, à 13 kms. de Sienne, s'y retira et y mourut en 1353; une inscription l'y commémore. Par testament (1351) et codicille (1353) il laissa tous ses biens aux chartreux de Pontignano (E. Repetti, *Dizionario . . .*, i, 674; Gigli, *Diario senese*, p. 85; B. Tromby, *Storia*, vi, p. 208; *Guida-inventario dell'Archivio di Stato di Siena*, i, 25; ii, 76). Il était le cousin (*consobrinus*) du cardinal Richard.

[54] Guilelmus Longus ou de Longis (Longhi) de Bergame, chancelier de Charles II d'Anjou. Créé cardinal-diacre de S. Nicolas in carcere Tulliano par Célestin V, le 18 sept. 1294, mort à Avignon le 9 avril 1319.

[55] Tromby, *op. cit.*, vi, 120, l'appelle 'Denis de Burges' d'après des documents qu'il faudrait pouvoir examiner. Dans nos documents il est appelé partout Denys de Sienne. Une lettre de fr. Denys de Sienne datée du 1 juin 1317 (ou 1318) a été éditée par S. Lopez, *Chartularium conventus Sancti Geminiani*, Romae, 1930, p. 159, n. 114.

[56] Ce sont des rouleaux de parchemin portant la signature et le seing manuel du notaire Guillaume Toringhelli. Ces quittances mériteraient d'être éditées, en abrégeant les formules. Elles portent la cote: A. S. S. Patrimonio dei Resti. Certosa di Pontignano. En effet elles font partie des archives de Bindo Petroni qui restèrent à Pontignano après sa mort.

[57] 'Et ego Guillelmus Toringhelli clericus lucanus publicus apostolica imperiali auctoritate notarius predictis una cum testibus memoratis interfui eaque rogatus scripsi et in hanc publicam formam redegi.' Aux archives de Lucques sont conservés des actes passés devant ce notaire (Miscellanea A del fondo notarile) en l'année 1334. Il était conservateur (*custos*) de la 'Camera dei libri' en 1342 (*Inventario del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca*, Lucca, 1872, i, 231). Il rédige les délibérations du 'Liber consiliorum et reformationum' en 1333. (*Ibid.*, p. 123). Clément V lui avait concédé le tabellionage le 15 octobre 1310 (*Reg. Clem. V*, anno 5to, no. 5552, p. 175). A cette date il était clerc.

[58] B. Tromby, *Storia*, Appendix i ad tomum vi, pp. lii-lvi. Arnold Bost était un carme belge qui mourut à la fin du 15e siècle et qui s'intéressait à l'histoire des Chartreux. Il était en rapport avec des savants de tous les pays. On lui procura sans doute une copie fautive du document sur parchemin conservé aux Archives de Maggiano. Il l'aurait édité dans un ouvrage 'De originibus Cartusiarum Belgiae' que nous n'avons pu trouver ici à Rome.

Nous trouvons la trace de ces difficultés en divers 'Consilia' d'éminents juristes,[59] notamment en ceux de Francesco Accolti,[60] arétin né vers 1416/1418, et qui professa à Sienne par deux fois, en 1455/1456 et de 1467 à 1479. Il y mourut en 1484. Ces consultations furent données environ 130 ou 150 ans après la mort du cardinal c'est-à-dire entre 1444 et 1464, et nous supposons qu'elles remontent environ à l'année 1444, parce qu'à cette date le testament fut produit devant le tribunal du podestà de Sienne Giorgio de Spinola.

D'après ce que nous pouvons comprendre de la consultation donnée par le juriste interpellé, à Simon de Petronibus, l'héritage de Johannes Meschiati, le légataire principal du cardinal Richard, était tombé de substitution en substitution aux mains de Bartholomaeus, son descendant (au 5^{e} degré). A la mort de Bartholomaeus, ses fils refusèrent l'héritage de leur père. C'est alors que Simon de Petronibus, cousin de Bartholomaeus, descendant au même degré de Johannes Meschiati, réclama, en vertu de la clause de restitution et d'inaliénabilité de l'héritage du cardinal et à titre de fidéicommissaire, une terre (*tenuta*) qui se trouvait alors en possession d'un certain Jacques Menghini et qui, jadis, avait appartenu au cardinal.

De cette consultation, notre juriste fit un véritable 'casus' juridique, reprenant la question *a radice*. Les droits des héritiers laiques à hériter des biens amassés par le cardinal semblent en effet avoir été contestés. Le consulteur prouva la légitimité du testament autorisé par la lettre du Pape dont nous avons parlé plus haut[61] et supposa cette autorisation dont il ignorait l'existence.[62] Il admit la validité du testament et des preuves testimoniales apportées par les héritiers; enfin dans une seconde consultation il indiqua la procédure par laquelle Simon de Petronibus pouvait saisir l'héritage en question.

Il serait intéressant d'étendre les recherches rapides que nous avons faites autour du cardinal Petroni à d'autres membres de cette famille qui joua un certain rôle du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle, aux fondations religieuses qu'ils laissèrent à Sienne et aux environs, et enfin aux vicissitudes, complications, causes et consultations que provoquèrent leurs testaments. C'est ce que nous espérons faire en un second article.

JEANNE BIGNAMI ODIER.

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[59] Panziroli, *De claris legum interpretibus* (v. ci-dessus, p. 143, n. 14) nous indique plusieurs *consilia* dont un seul nous intéresse, celui de Francesco Accolti. La consultation indiquée par Panziroli, du juriste bien connu Mariano Sozzini junior (v. ci-dessous, p. 156, n. 46) concerne le testament de Francesco Petroni, fils de Guglielmaccio et non celui du cardinal Richard.

[60] Ed. princeps: *Consilia seu responsa iuris*, Pisa, 1487. Nous avons consulté l'édition de Venise, 1572. (Consilia xxxvi et xxxvii, fol. 47v.–49v.). Sur Francesco Accolti: L. Landucci, 'Un celebre scrittore aretino del sec. XV,' *Atti della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti di Arezzo*, vii (1887), p. 25 et suiv.

[61] Voir ci-dessous les souscriptions des notaires de Sienne, p. 155. Ici se pose un petit problème de chronologie. D'après la *Cronaca Senese* de Tommaso Fecini (*Rer. ital. Script.*, xv (6), Bologna, 1939, p. 854) c'est Andrea de'Cantorani qui aurait été alors podestà de Sienne. 'Giovanni Ispinola da Genova' fut nommé pour six mois le 10 février 1442/1443. Où est l'erreur de date? Dans la chronique ou dans notre copie?

[62] 'Dilecto filio Ricciardo sancti Eustachii card. diacon. Cum nichil magis hominibus debeatur quam ut supreme voluntatis liber sit stilus et liberum quod iterum non redit arbitrium nos tuis supplicationibus inclinati testandi et ordinandi et disponendi libere de omnibus bonis ad te pertinentibus cuiuscumque quantitatis seu valoris fuerint etiam si illa ex proventibus ecclesiasticis seu ecclesiis tibi commissis vel alias persone tue vel tui cardinalatus intuitu ratione aut contemplatione ad te pervenerunt vel pervenient in futurum plenam tibi concedimus auctoritate presentium potestatem. Datum in prioratu 'ut supra (de Grausello) XIII Kl. julii anno sexto' (Reg. Vat. 58, fol. 123v. Cf. *Reg. Clem. V*, anno 6°, no. 6901. 19 juin 1311).

TESTAMENT DU CARDINAL RICHARD PETRONI

(A. S. S. Patrimonio dei Resti, Certosa di Maggiano 1938. Papier 195 × 257)[*]

In nomine Domini amen. Nos Ricciardus miseratione divina sancti Eustachii dyaconus cardinalis volentes de bonis nostris ultimam nostram disponere voluntatem inprimis in omnibus bonis nostris Johannem natum quondam domini Meschiati germani nostri nobis heredem instituimus[1] et liberos eiusdem Johannis masculos legitime descendentes ex eo, et sibi invicem liberos eosdem substituimus, ita quod ille sit ordo in successione ex substitutione huiusmodi qui alias in successionibus ab intestato servatur. Nostra enim voluntas hec est : ut masculinis liberis existentibus bona nostra predicta ad ipsos deveniant et ad nullos alios valeant devenire.

Mandamus insuper fieri et dotari de bonis nostris dumtaxat mobilibus infrascripta monasteria et religiosa loca in comitatu et districtu vel civitate Senensi tantummodo. Monasterium unum videlicet Carthusiensis ordinis[2] in comitatu seu districtu predicto in quo sit conventus duodecim fratrum, unius prioris et unius corarii iuxta ipsius ordinis instituta: cui assignentur possessiones quattuor millium florenorum auri. In ecclesie vero et officinarum constructione duo milia florenorum auri volumus erogari. Aliud vero monasterium erit Cisterciensis ordinis in eodem comitatu et districtu vel civitate ita quod non grangia sit vel redigatur in grangiam: sed sit ibi conventus monachorum iuxta sufficientiam facultatum quod per abbatem regatur: cui assignentur possessiones trium milium florenorum auri. In ecclesie vero et officinarum constructione mille florenos auri volumus erogari.[3] Aliud autem monasterium erit monialium ordinis sancte Clare infra Senas vel prope ad iactum lapidis:[4] cui assignari volumus possessiones trium milium florenorum auri. Et ex mille florenis auri ecclesiam construi et locum habitationis ipsarum. Item aliud monasterium monialium de ordine fratrum predicatorum[5] infra limites prelibatos: cui similiter possessiones trium milium florenorum auri volumus assignari et ex mille florenis auri ecclesiam construi et locum habitationis ipsarum. Et in istis duobus monasteriis monialium volumus deputari moniales quot substentari possint ex facultatibus possessionum eis assignandarum.

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[*] Nous avons décidé de ne nous servir que de cette copie, qui est excellente, les autres étant toutes fautives et ne donnant que des variantes sans intérêt pour l'intelligence du texte.

[1] La branche des Petroni issue du frère du cardinal, Meschiato, est moins connue dans ses détails que celle de son cousin Accorridore dont nous avons plusieurs arbres généalogiques (Petroni, 'Un documento inedito sul Beato Petrone Certosino', *Bullettino senese*, lvi, 1949, p. 143; Généalogie manuscrite de la famille Petroni, par Celso Cittadini, aux Archives de Sienne; 'Consilium' de Martino Sozzini de Siena (éd. de Venise, 1524, vol. v, cons. 4, pp. 63–65 : à propos du conseil donné pour les testaments de Nicolaccio et de Francesco, fils et petit-fils de Petronus Acorridoris il nous donne la généalogie de cette branche de la famille). Nous trouvons 'Ricciardo,' fils de Jean Meschiati dans les comptes de la Biccherna, d'avril 1322 à juin 1325. Il loue une maison près de Santo Vigilio aux maîtres qui professaient à Sienne (Giovanni Cecchini e Giulio Prunai, *Chartularium Studii senensis*, i (1240–1357), Siena, 1942, pp. 254, 269, 297, 309, 333). En 1450 ou à peu près une cause civile intéressant l'héritage du cardinal, nous apprenons par le Consilium xxxvii de Francesco Accolti (Pise, 1482) que Simon de Petronibus est héritier au 5e degré de Johannes Meschiati. Son grand-père était Riccardo, son cousin Bartolomeo.

Nous avons deux quittances sur parchemin de 'Johannes Meschiati', du 8 novembre 1320 et du 24 novembre 1321 (Siena, Arch. di Stato, Patrimonio dei Resti, Certosa di Pontignano, no. 643 et 652).

[2] Ce monastère n'est autre que la chartreuse de Sta. Maria di Maggiano qui fut en effet fondée à un kilomètre à peu près de la Porta Romana au sud-est de Sienne. Dès 1315 nous voyons Bindo Bindi, prévôt de la cathédrale de Cologne et notaire apostolique, le cousin du cardinal et son exécuteur testamentaire, acheter des terrains à cet effet. (Charte sur parchemin conservée dans le 'Patrimonio dei Resti,' Certosa di Maggiano. Autre instrument sur parchemin d'achat de terrains in 'Val di Pugna' à la Biblioteca comunale de Sienne (Lorenzo Ilari, *La Biblioteca pubblica di Siena*, vi, Siena, 1847, p. 285). La permission de construire fut obtenue de l'évêque Roger de Casole. La chartreuse fut consacrée en 1324 et le chartreux Michel, prieur de l'abbaye de Trisulti en fut nommé prieur. Le 24 mars 1324, Jean XXII envoie trois lettres, deux à Bindo, la troisième à l'évêque de Sienne (Arch. du Vat., Reg. Vat. 76, fol. 252r.). Il accorde à Bindo une indulgence plénière *in articulo mortis*. Dans la seconde lettre il lui donne la permission de se rendre en Italie pour les affaires de la succession du cardinal. Enfin il demande à l'évêque de Sienne de renouveler l'indulgence qui avait été octroyée au cardinal par Clément V (*Regestum*, anno 8°, n. 10015, p. 449; 3 janvier 1313) et qui était attachée à la fondation des monastères.

A cette date nous apprenons que des quatre monastères fondés par le cardinal : 'unum consecratum (Maggiano) duo non completa reliquum inexpletum fore noscuntur' (Reg. Vat. 76, fol. 252r. et v.).

La chartreuse continua à recevoir les bienfaits des membres de la famille Petroni, notamment de Nicolaccio et de son fils Francesco, parents lointains du cardinal (leur aïeul commun étant Petrone, mort en 1081) qui avaient fait testament en 1368 laissant eux aussi des fonds pour l'érection d'une nouvelle chartreuse; il fut décidé d'employer ces fonds à la réfection de la chartreuse de Maggiano, qui avait été ruinée par la guerre. La chartreuse de Maggiano fut supprimée en 1782. Les archives passèrent à Florence ('Patrimonio resti ecclesiastici'). En 1858 elles revinrent à Sienne lorsque fut fondé l'Archivio di Stato de Sienne. (Cecchini), *Guida-inventario dell'Archivio di Stato*, Roma, 1951, i, 22–24; ii, 76. Sur cette chartreuse on peut voir E. Repetti, *Dizionario geograficofisicostorico della Toscana*, i, Firenze, 1833, p. 673 et les auteurs chartreux : B. Tromby, *Storia . . . del patriarca S. Brunone e del suo ordine cartusiano . . .* vi, Napoli, 1777, pp. 120, 321–322, a consulté les archives de Maggiano, et en a publié plusieurs documents (voir l'Appendix ad tom. vi) ; Charles Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis. Ab anno* 1084 *ad annum* 1429, vol. v. Montreuil, 1889, p. 67; Léon Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides ordinis cartusiensis*, ii, Montreuil, 1891, p. 182B; Voir aussi A. Liberati, 'Chiese, monasteri, oratori e spedali senesi, ricordi e notizie,' *Bullettino Senese*, lvii, 1950, p. 133, n. 2. Les restes de cette chartreuse sont assez misérables. L'église est devenue paroissiale (St. Nicolas).

Argentum nostrum nongentarum marcarum forte minus quattuor cum cuppa aurea quod Senis est sub custodia Johannis predicti in dotes filiarum eiusdem Johannis ita quod quelibet earum cum alia equalem dotem habeat deputamus illegitimis filiabus eius quas habuerit aliunde competenter dotatis: quod si forte nullus masculus superesset de filiis seu liberis Johannis predicti aut nullus eorum nobis heres esset ad filias legittimas earumque liberos hereditatem nostram et bona volumus pervenire. Quod si nec filie vel earum liberi superessent seu deficerent ad dicta monasteria hereditas et bona nostra deveniant factis partibus iuxta ratam dictarum dotium monasteriorum ipsorum ita quod hereditatem et bona nostra predicta quantum ad stabilia attinet dicta monasteria nullatenus alienent. Inhibemus quoque ne mater dicti Johannis nec aliquis ex parte ipsius matris coniunctus ipsi Johanni possit aliquo modo venire ad hereditatem et bona prefata vel succedere in eisdem vel aliqua parte eorum. Item si contingat nos decedere usque ad byennium volumus per executores nostros distribui inter familiam nostram quam tunc habebimus quingentos auri florenos, cum familiaribus nostris a duobus annis retro pro toto tempore quo nobiscum fuerunt nos ipsi satisfecerimus. Distributio autem huiusmodi erit attenta personarum et servitiorum qualitate et temporis quo in nostris fuerunt servitiis quantitate. Item heredibus quondam Bernardini filii quondam Pese de Senis[6] quamquam principaliter cum Domino Bindo, domini pape notario, consobrino nostro fuerit florenos auri XXXta legamus in memoriam patris et avie sue paterne qui nos puerum satis tenere tractaverunt. Item heredibus Thomaselli de Reate[7] quondam domicelli nostri florenos auri triginta legamus, jubentes ut octuaginta auri floreni qui in bonis suis fuerunt inventi et sunt in deposito apud Ser Cenne[8] cappellanum eiusdem notarii de conscientia et voluntate notarii ipsius et nostra heredibus predictis eiusdem Thomaselli reddantur, et idem dicimus de triginta florenis auri vel circa quos socii de Tolomeis de Senis debent heredibus antedictis sicut in libris sociorum ipsorum scriptum esse debet. Vitali quoque de Fractis[9] quondam domicello nostro pro octo annis quibus in familia nostra fuit solvi volumus auri octuaginta florenos. Item pro anima quondam magistri Henrici de Padua domini Pape scriptoris,[10] dari volumus sive consanguineis suis indigentibus sive filio uni quem dicebatur habere in Urbe Veteri si indigeat sive indigentibus aliis auri quinquaginta florenos. Item legamus Basilice principis Apostolorum de Urbe pro solutione cuiusdam voti quod fecimus auri viginti florenos.[11] Item ecclesie beate Agnelli de Neapoli pro eadem causa legamus auri XX^{ti} florenos.[12] Item ecclesie sancti Eustachii de Urbe cui alias aliqua bona quaesivimus temporibus nostris et aliis ecclesiis in quibus habemus beneficia et prebendas pro quarum qualibet in negociis pluribus earum magnis sollicite et utiliter laboravimus omnes fructus prebendarum et beneficiorum nobis debitos nondum receptos a nobis aut nobis assignatos quamquam iam sint apud procuratores nostros legamus. Item bybliam nostram et crucem nostram maiorem argenteam non alienandas ecclesie Senensi relinquimus.[13]

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[3] St. Michel de Quarto; cette abbaye était située à 5 kms. environ au nord de Sienne, sur la route de Poggibonsi. Les moines de S. Galgano y entrèrent en 1337. On a peu de renseignements sur cette abbaye dont il ne reste que des ruines. Pas de fonds aux archives de Sienne (Gigli, *Diario senese*, ii, 250, 679; Macchi, *Memorie*, i, 439 (A. S. S. MS D 107); Giovacchino Faluschi, Chiese Foranee (Biblioteca comunale de Sienne, MS.) i, c. 1 et c. 134. Repetti, *Dizionario*, iv, 691, s.v. Quarto; Leopoldus Janauschek, *Originum cisterciensium*, i, Vindobonae, 1877, p. 271). Pas de quittance aux archives de Sienne. Cette abbaye eut sans doute une existence brève.

[4] Sur ce couvent, situé 'extra portam Oliverie' non loin de la Porta Romana et dominant la chartreuse de Maggiano, voir Liberati, *op. cit.*, dans *Bullettino senese*, lvii, 1950, p. 121–151. Le monastère fut supprimé en 1808–1810 et affecté à des usages divers. L'église a sauté, le 2 juillet 1944, lors de la retraite allemande. Voir aussi *Guida-inventario*, ii, 178. Nous avons deux quittances sur parchemin (9 février 1321 et ler juin 1322) de l'abbesse Soeur Claire et des quinze soeurs de Ste. Claire (Arch. cit., fonds cit. no. 654 et 658). A cette époque, les quatre mille florins d'or du legs avaient été dépensés en constructions et en achats de meubles et d'objets divers. De même les soeurs avaient reçu les livres, parements et des objets (*arnensia*) laissés par le cardinal.

[5] 'S. Caterina in Laterinis' (ou S. Caterina delle Ruote). Nous avons la quittance sur parchemin (8 juin 1323; même collection, no. 899) de la prieure Candida et des 16 moniales 'Sancte Katerine contrate Laterini de Senis ordinis fratrum predictorum.' A cette date le monastère a été reconstruit, terres et meubles ont été achetés par les fidéicommissaires avec l'argent du legs (quatre mille florins d'or). Les soeurs ont reçu aussi les livres, parements et objets divers ('arnensia') légués par le Cardinal. Cet acte fut fait en présence de trois frères Prêcheurs.

Peu de renseignements sur ce couvent de Dominicaines, cité dans le registre des lettres de Raymond de Capoue (de Vineis) (éd. Thomas Kaeppeli, Roma, 1937, R. 14, 23, 29, 225, 406, 496). Voir Gigli, *Diario senese*, ii, 499. Cf. p. 28; Ugurgieri, *Pompe senesi*, ii, tit 34, c. 412; Liberati, dans *Bullettino senese*, xlviii, 1941, p. 75, n. 8. Ce couvent fut uni, en 1507, à celui des soeurs de Ste. Marie Madeleine.

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[6] Quittance de Jacobus, frère de Bernardinus (celui-ci étant mort) et de sa soeur Mita (27 septembre 1314. *Coll. cit.*, no. 589).

[7] Quittance (2 mai 1315) de Petrus de Saxoferrato, bénédictin du couvent de Montefano, procureur de Jacobella, fille de Thomasius apothicaire (*aromator*) habitant la région du portique de Saint Pierre à Rome. D'après la quittance, ce Thomasius et Thomasellus de Reate sont une seule et même personne (*Coll. cit.*, no. 594).

[8] 'Ser Cenne' est cité dans la quittance.

[9] Quittance (19 février 1314) de Vitalis de Fractis (*Coll. cit.*, no. 592).

[10] Le nom 'H. Pad.' (ou 'Paduanus') apparaît déjà sur des lettres de Nicolas IV. On le trouve encore sous Boniface VIII (en 1297). (Paul Maria Baumgarten, *Aus Kanzlei und Kammer. Erörterungen zur Kurialen Hof-und Verwaltungsgeschichte im XIII. XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts.* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907, p. 251, no. 2). Pas de quittance dans notre collection.

[11] Pascasius 'beneficiatus in basilica Principis Apostolorum de Urbe, camerarius et procurator prioris et capituli eiusdem basilice' donne quittance (18 sept. 1314. *Coll. cit.*, no. 592).

[12] Quittance (24 sept. 1314) de Ventucius Bonaguida, marchand florentin et procureur de Mattheus Filmarini, recteur de Sant'Agnello Maggiore de Naples (no. 589). Mattheus Filmarini apparaît dans les registres de Clément V comme chanoine de Naples et de Capoue. Il était professeur de droit civil et canonique, familier et conseiller de Robert d'Anjou. (*Reg. Clem V*, i, 33, no. 221; iv, 345, no. 4819; v, 298, no. 5998; vi, 169, no. 6899; viii, 289, no. 9656). V. aussi Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, ii, Firenze, 1930, pp. 417–418.

Antiphonaria quoque nostra nocturna que sunt Senis et diurnum, missale, epistulare, evangelistare quod non est hic sed debet esse Senis et legendam sanctorum ac paramenta cappelle nostre sacerdotalia que non sunt corporis nostri monasterio ordinis sancte Clare quod supra una cum tribus aliis monasteriis et religiosis locis precepimus construi et dotari (cum dicta alia monasteria et religiosa loca officio Romane Ecclesie non utantur) legamus. Calicem vero et alia que sunt in cofano cappelle nostre et paramenta corporis nostri et pannos ad aurum vel de serico integros sive incisos memoratis tribus monasteriis inter ea equaliter distribuenda legamus.[14] Item vestimenta dorsi nostri et coquinam nostram hospitali domine Agniesie de Senis donamus.[15] Lectos nostros insuper et superlectos cum omni apparatu eorum hospitali sancte Marie ante gradus Senensis ecclesie relinquimus.[16] Breviarium quoque nostrum conventui fratrum minorum de Neapoli quod ab eis in commodato recepimus volumus reddi.[17] Apparatum vero Ostiensis[18] in duobus voluminibus, Compostellanum[19] et Speculum iudiciale[20] que sunt Senis ac graduale nostrum Domino Bindo[21] Domini Pape notario consobrino nostro relinquimus. Item domno Boncio priori sancti Martini Senensis florenos auri vigintiquinque legamus. Preterea libri nostri iuris civilis et canonici et Innocentius[22] ac supellectilia nostra que aliis specialiter non relinquimus vendantur et pretium eorum inter proximiores consanguineos nostros pauperes erogetur.

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[13] La Bible du cardinal Petroni apparaît dans l'inventaire des livres de la cathédrale de 1391 : *In prima una bibbia del cardenale Petronio* (Lusini, *Duomo*, ii, 166, n. 2), dans celui de 1397 : *Uno libro che fu del chardenale Ricciardo* (ibid., p. 167, note), dans l'inventaire de 1429 : *Uno libro intitolato Bibia di volume mezzano, lettera di testo a la moderna coverto con tavole e velluto azzurro coll'arme del cardinale Ricciardo bellissima* (ibid., p. 169, n. 3 de la p. 168). La Bible du cardinal Petroni ne se trouvant plus à la cathédrale de Sienne, nous ne pouvons donner d'autres renseignements sur cet objet.

La croix fut réparée par 'Pietro di Vita horafo' en 1425 (Lusini, *op. cit.*, i, 308), par 'Simone di Pietro del Passero' en 1439 (ibid., ii, 49). Elle n'existe plus à la cathédrale.

L'historiographe de la cathédrale de Sienne, Vittorio Lusini, signale aussi (*op. cit.*, i, 236) un parement violet du cardinal Petroni (inventaire des ornements trouvés lors de la visite au dôme de Francesco Bossi en 1575).

Les chanoines de la cathédrale de Sienne accusent réception aux exécuteurs testamentaires de cette Bible et de cette croix le 13 décembre 1314. (*Coll. cit.*, no. 589).

[14] Ces livres, parements, autres objets liturgiques sont désignés sous le nom générique de *arnensia* dans les quittances des monastères de Sainte Claire et de Sainte Catherine (v. ci-dessus, p. 150, n. 4 et p. 150, n. 5).

[15] Quittance (10 avril 1314) de 'Abbonettus quondam Petri' (oblat, procureur et syndic de l'hôpital de Monna Agnese) et de 'Domina Caterina filia Baroncii' régente (*rectrix*) et gouvernante (*gubernatrix*) dudit hôpital. (*Coll. cit.*, no. 584).

[16] Sur l' hôpital de Sta. Maria della Scala voir : Giuseppe Sanesi, *L'origine dello Spedale di Siena e il suo più antico statuto*, Siena, 1898; Luciano Banchi, *Statuti senesi scritti in volgare nei secc. XIII e XIV*. Vol. III. *Statuto dello Spedale di Siena*, Bologna, 1877; *I Rettori dello Spedale di S. Maria della Scala, in Siena*, Bologna, 1877. Quittance (10 avril 1314) de 'Manfredus et Minus Mineri', frères de l'hôpital, syndics et procureurs du recteur et de l'hôpital. (*Coll. cit.*, no. 584). Bon historique dans *Guida-inventario*, i, 14–16.

[17] S. Lorenzo. Le roi Robert d'Anjou empruntait lui aussi, en 1317, des livres à S. Lorenzo de Naples (Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, ii, 373).

[18] Henri de Suse, cardinal d'Ostie (*ob.* 1271). *Lectura s. Apparatus domini Hostiensis super quinque libris decretalium.* Sur les manuscrits et éditions voir Friedrich von Schulte, *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, Stuttgart, ii (1877), 125.

[19] Bernardus Compostellanus junior, canoniste (entre 1245 et 1260). Voir von Schulte, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[20] Guillaume Durant, év. de Mende (*ob.* 1296), *Speculum iudiciale* (von Schulte, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–152).

[21] Chargé des affaires du cardinal Richard à Sienne (3 ian. 1313. *Reg. Clem. V*, viii, 449–450, nos. 10017–10019). Enseignait le droit canonique à Sienne ('doctor in decretali, qui docet decretales' : Archivio di Stato de Sienne, Biccherna, 118, c. 142, cité par Giovanni Cecchini et Giulio Prunai, *Chartularium*, p. 82). Quittance (20 avril 1314. *Coll. cit.*, no. 592).

[22] Innocentius IV, *Apparatus Decretalium Gregorii pp. IX* (von Schulte, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–93).

Ceterum Carfagnino[23] de Florentia domicello nostro alimenta ab heredibus nostris ubicumque fuerit aut esse voluerit legamus in ea quantitate quanta Senis essent sufficientia ad alimenta sua ibi habenda. Volumus etiam ut idem Carfagninus de generali relicto quod familie nostre in presenti testamento facimus sit particeps hoc speciali legato non obstante. Si vero Petructius patruelis noster cum filiis masculis decesserit, eis mille libris parvorum denariorum Senensium relinquimus.

Item precise jubemus restitui nobili mulieri domine Philippe filie quondam Domini Bertrandi de Reali nurus quondam domini Rostagni Cantelmi[24] seu heredibus suis si non supersit duodecim uncias auri, et quatuordecim auri uncias abbati monasterii sancti Severini maioris[25] de Neapoli reddi mandamus. Et heredibus quondam Nicolai Peregrini de Neapoli[26] unciam auri unam : ac Maiori ecclesie neapolitane librum unum quem habemus qui dicitur Martiniana[27] cum aliis opusculis in eodem volumine, et heredibus quondam domini Johannis de Porta[28] olim Caputaquensis episcopi quinque libros Titilivii ab urbe condita quos habere debemus apud nos ab ipso in commodato : et heredibus quondam domini Nese Judicis de Senis librum qui dicitur Apulegius : quem ab ipso in comodato habuimus, reddi mandamus. Alia autem debita quam illa de quibus super sub verbis restitui et reddi fecimus mentionem nos nescimus nec credimus habere. Sed nichilominus si quis nos suum forsitan dixerit et docuerit in aliquo debitorem et illud reddi mandamus.

Corpus vero nostrum ubicumque diem fungemur extremam, preterquam in Urbe vel prope ad unam dietam, quibus casibus apud basilicam principis apostolorum volumus sepelliri, deferri volumus Senas in Maiori Ecclesia Senensi in ipsius ecclesie pariete tumulandum, pro sepultura vero eidem basilice si in ea sepulti fuerimus vel ecclesie senensi predicte si tumulabimur ibi legamus auri quinquaginta florenos. Expensas insuper funeris nostri moderatas fieri volumus et honestas.

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[23] Serait-ce le même que ce 'Carcagnino' familier de 'Ricciardo di Giovanni di misere Mesciato' resté en charge de la famille de l'héritier principal du cardinal, Johannes Meschiati, que nous trouvons dans les comptes de la Biccherna de Sienne (Cecchini et Prunai, *Chartularium*, p. 254).

[24] Nous avons la quittance (29 mai 1315. *Coll. cit.*, no. 594) de 'Jacoppus Stephani de Florentia de societate Accaiolorum' procureur de noble dame 'Philippa,' épouse de Jacques Cantelme, maître panetier du royaume de Sicile. Jacques Gantelme (Cantelmi) était fils de Rostang Gantelme. Comme son père il fut seigneur de Romanin, château situé non loin de Saint-Rémy (chef-l. de canton, B. du Rh.). En 1314, Jacques Gantelme, étant à Trapani, fut désigné avec deux autres seigneurs pour recevoir le serment et l'hommage de Frédéric d'Aragon à la suite de la trêve arrêtée entre Robert d'Anjou et Frédéric d'Aragon. Son nom figure dans de multiples actes concernant Saint-Rémy et est toujours suivi de son titre de maître panetier du royaume de Sicile. Sur ce personnage v. entre autres Ch. Perrat, *Actes du roi Robert d'Anjou relatifs à la Provence*, 1314–1316 (Extrait du *Bulletin philologique et historique*, 1946/1947), Paris 1950, nos. 16, 90, 91; E. Leroy, *Les Archives communales de Saint-Rémy-de-Provence*, Saint-Rémy, 1949–1953, pp. 91, 143, 419, 548, 556, 557; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, i, 188, 196, 214, 325; ii, 330, 334.

[25] Quittance (29 septembre 1314) donnée par Johannes Aldobrandini de Sienne, procureur de frère Robert Caracciolo, abbé du monastère O.S.B. de saint Séverin à Naples (*Coll. cit.*, no. 589). Sur ce couvent: Dom L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire*, ii, 2039.

[26] Quittance (même date) donnée par le même procureur, de Dames Antrude et Letitie Peregrine, filles et héritières de feu Nicolas Peregrini (*Coll. cit.*, no. 589).

[27] Probablement la *Margarita Decreti seu Tabula Martiniana*, éd. inc. (Hain, 10834–10852; von Schulte, *op. cit.*, ii, 137–138).

[28] Peu de renseignements sur ce personnage. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, i, 165, ne connait pas son nom. Evêque de Capaccio depuis 1286. Cité par Boniface VIII pour avoir maltraité un chanoine (*Reg. Bon. VIII*, ed. Digard, Faucon, Thomas, Fawtier, iii, no. 5122). Le 13 août 1311 Clément V lui ordonne de prendre un coadjuteur (*Reg. Clem. V*, anno vi, p. 307, no. 7248). Son successeur est élu le 7 juillet 1312.

Ut autem predicte possessiones Deo favente in perpetuo sint apud monasteria et ecclesias quibus assignabuntur volumus quod assignatio earundem possessionum per executores nostros fiat sub prohibitione alienationis, quod eadem monasteria et ecclesia ea nullatenus alienent.

Insuper heredem nostrum predictum et substitutos eius, ut stabilia que eis relinquimus semper apud eos permaneant, prohibemus ne illa extra se alienare presumant, licet etiam in eis legis prohibitio, quia res restitutioni subiacent, sufficere possit. Et alienationis inhibitionem predictam non solum in his que principaliter relinquimus personis predictis alienare vetitis locum habere volumus, sed etiam eam ad partes et bona stabilia quoquo modo per testamentum huiusmodi eis de predictis bonis nostris advenientia per omnia prorogamus. Expresse insuper prohibemus in omnibus huiusmodi legatis et relictis sive universalibus sive singularibus atque substitutionibus falcidiam et trebellianicam portionem locum habere. Ad que omnia et singula exequenda adimplenda et facienda facimus constituimus et ordinamus executores nostros venerabilem patrem Dompnum Guillelmum sancti Nicolai in carcere tulliano diaconum cardinalem[29] et dilectum consobrinum nostrum dominum Bindum de Senis Domini Pape notarium supranominatum[30] ac religiosum virum fratrem Dyonisium de Senis de heremitis ordinis sancti Augustini[31] : quibus, pro predictis que sub nomine restitutionis, redditionis, expensarum funeris, relicti familie, pro servitio ipsorum et legati quinquaginta florenorum auri pro anima dicti magistri Henrici, non cadunt ab heredibus suis et quibuslibet mobilia sua et nomina praesentia et futura tantummodo. Pro hiis vero que, ut premittitur, sub nomine restitutionis, redditionis, expensarum funeris, dicti relicti, pro servitio familie et legati quinquaginta florenorum auri pro anima dicti magistri Henrici, cadunt, etiam stabilia petendi post mortem nostram, recipiendi et exigendi si opus fuerit mandatum damus et plenam potestatem concedimus. Nostre enim intentionis et voluntatis non est quod ad stabilia memorata pro aliis exsolvendis et implendis quam pro predictis que sub nomine restitutionis, redditionis, expensarum funeris, dicti relicti pro servitio familie et legati quinquaginta florenorum auri pro anima dicti magistri Henrici cadunt, per executores nostros vel alios modo aliquo veniantur. Residuum vero executionis testamenti nostri predicti auri et argenti cussi, facti vel infecti et reliqua mobilia et nomina si qua erunt ad dictum heredem et substitutos volumus pervenire et exigi per eosdem. Eidem vero Domino cardinali equum nostrum magnum ispanum pili rubei relinquimus, notario quoque prefato optionem trium aliorum equorum meliorum quos habemus vel habebimus et unius muli damus, comittentes eisdem executoribus ut ceteros equos et somerios nostros dividant inter cappellanos et domicellos nostros tempore mortis nostre, et salvo quod Angelaccius somarerius possit sibi unum de someriis quos ducit optare. Hanc autem ultimam voluntatem nostram valere volumus jure testamenti vel codicillorum et omni modo quo melius possit. Omnem vero aliam voluntatem quocumque nomine censeatur hactenus a nobis factam cassamus et irritamus et nullius volumus esse momenti.

Actum in burgo de Besagno[32] prope civitatem Janue in hospitio Anthonii de

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[29] V. ci-dessus, p. 147, n. 54.

[30] V. ci-dessus, p. 147, n. 53.

[31] V. ci-dessus, p. 147, n. 55.

[32] V. ci-dissus, p. 146, n. 46.

Camilla de Janua[33] in quo idem Dominus Cardinalis tunc manebat presentibus prefato Domino Bindo et fratre Dyonisio antedicto: ac etiam fratre Petro de Senis socio dicti fratris Dionisii necnon providis viris domino Caccia de Ymola archidiacono senensi, Henrico de Clutz canonico lubicensi,[34] ser Cenne Dominici sancti Petri in Castro Veteri,[35] ser Ambrosio Andree Sancti Petri Scalarum Senensis ecclesiarum rectoribus,[36] ser Adamo Johannis et ser Dardo de Ymola[37] cappellanis et familiaribus dicti domini Cardinalis testibus ad hec vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Anno nativitatis Domini millesimo trecentesimo quarto decimo indictione duodecima die vicesima septima Januarii pontificatus Domini Clementis pape quinti anno nono.

Et ego Guillelmus Toringelli[38] clericus lucanus publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius predictis omnibus una cum testibus memoratis interfui eaque de mandato dicti Domini cardinalis et ab ipso rogatus scripsi et in hanc publicam formam redegi signumque meum apposui consuetum in testimonium premissorum.

SOUSCRIPTIONS DES NOTAIRES DE LUCQUES ET DE SIENNE

(Ces souscriptions se trouvent à la fin de la copie sur parchemin: Patrimonio dei Resti. Certosa di Maggiano. 1958*bis*)

Ego Petrus filius quondam Vanisdati (*sic*)[38] de Lucha imperiali auctoritate Judex ordinarius et Notarius totum, et quicquid supra continetur, inveni vidi et legi in quodam quaterno scripto et publicato manu olim ser Gulielmi notarii suprascripti defuncti et in quo dictum testamentum scriptum et publicatum est sub quatuor foliis cartarum: quod testamentum et ejus scripturam bene novi et ab eodem fore scriptum recognovi, et prout in dicto testamento continebatur nil addens, nil minuens, quod secundum meam conscientiam sensum mutet, uel variet intellectum, et ex commissione in me facta et licentia exinde sumendi mihi data a Domino Jacobo de Monterubiano judice et assessore nobilis militis Domini Rossi de Raciis (*sic*) de Pixis[39] honorabilis potestatis Lucanae civitatis eiusque districtus et fortia pro communi et populo pixano ut continetur de dicta commissione et licentia publica in manu Ser Blasii quondam Ghuzelini de Marianis[40] de Luca notarii et custodis librorum Camere lucensis communis, facto anno Nativitatis Dominicae millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo nono Indictione secunda die vigesimo quinto mensis januarii et inde hic scripsi et exemplavi in foleis ser Johannis

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[33] V. ci-dessus, p. 146, n. 47.

[34] Chanoine de Hambourg, Lübeck et Brême. Apparaît dans des documents de 1311 à 1335. Envoyé à la cour pontificale (4 octobre 1311); procureur et nonce spécial auprès de Jean XXII (21 juillet 1319). Cf. *Codex diplomaticus Lubecensis, Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch*, ii, Erste Hefte, Lübeck, 1858, p. 461 (n. DVII); *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, Band v–vii, nos. 3487, 3735, 4089, 5428, 5530). Renseignements fournis par M. Heinrich Lutz, de l'Institut historique allemand, Rome.

[35] S. Pietro in Castelvecchio. (Cf. *Reg. Clem. V*, anno i, p. 56, n. 314). Cette église appartenait au puissant Bindo.

[36] Cet 'Ambrosius Andree' était cousin du cardinal et avait reçu divers bénéfices (*Reg. Clem. V*, anno v^{to} p. 325, n. 6083; anno VII, p. 163, no. 8274. L'église de S. Pietro alle Scale existe toujours à Sienne.

[37] C'est sans doute ce 'Dardus de Rastellis clericus Imolensis' qui, le 13 janvier 1310, reçoit le tabellionage (*Reg. Clem. V*, anno v^{to}, p. 33, no. 5212).

[38] V. ci-dessus, p. 147, n. 57.

[38 bis] C'est 'Pietro q. Vauni Doti' (*Inventario del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca*, iv, 453).

[39] 'Rosso degli Zacchi di Pisa,' podestà de Lucques depuis le 8 nov. 1348 et pendant les six premiers mois de 1349 (*Inventario*, iii, 314).

[40] *Inventario*, ii, 181.

Vacche notarii lucensis[41] civitatis auscultavi Luce coram Crate (*sic*) Schiatte[42] et Joanne quondam Symi Saracenis Lucensibus civibus . . . ad hoc rogatis, et utrumque bene concordare inveni, et ex commissione praedicta hic scripsi, et meum signum apposui consuetum suprascripto anno, indictione et die.

Ego Nicolaus quondam Joannis Ser Varelle de Luca [*sic*] imperiali auctoritate notarius et judex ordinarius totum et quicquid superius continetur scriptum inveni, vidi et legi in quodam quaterno ubi suprascriptum testamentum scriptum est et publicatum manu suprascripti ser Gulielmi Toringhelli notarii defuncti sub quatuor foleis in dicto quaterno, quem olim ser Gulielmus et ejus scripturam bene novi, et ab eodem scriptum recognovi et dictum sumptum cum originali una cum Ser Petro notario suprascripto diligenter auscultavi, et utrunque concordare inveni et commissione praedicta facta ut constat manu suprascripti ser Blasii notarii et custodis librorum camere Lucensis communis me subscripsi, et hic meum signum et nomen apposui consuetum et predictum [*sic*] auscultationem et alie predicte feci suprascriptis anno, indictione et die et coram suprascriptis testibus praesentibus et rogatis.

Ego Minocius Joannis Ser Minocii de Senis[43] publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius et judex ordinarius totum id quod suprascriptum et exemplatum est manu mei Minocii praedicti vidi, et legi in quodam testamento publico Rmi. olim Domini Ricardi miseratione divina diaconi cardinalis rogato per ser Gulielmum Toringhelli clericum lucanum et notarium publicum et sumpto ac publicato per Ser Petrum filium quondam Vanisdati [*sic*][44] et Ser Nicolaum quondam Joannis Varellie notarios publicos de Luca et de dicto testamento ex commissione in me solemniter facta per infrascriptum dominum potestatem fideliter sumpsi et exemplavi de verbo ad verbum nil addito vel diminuto quod secundum mei notarii conscientiam sensum quomodolibet mutet vel variet intellectum, et dictum sumptum cum praedicto originali testamento una cum infrascriptis peritissimis tabellionibus in praesentia magnifici militis et famosissimi utriusque iuris doctoris Domini Giorgii de Spinolis de Janua[45] dignissimi potestatis civitatis Senarum, et coram dicto Domino Potestate diligenter auscultando bene concordare inveni. Ideo me hic publice subscripsi, et signum meum apposui consuetum, sub anno Domini nostri Jesu Christi ab ipsius salutifera incarnatione millesimo quatringentesimo quadragesimo quarto, indictione septima, secundum communem usum stilum et consuetudinem notariorum civitatis Senarum, die vero vigesima secunda mensis aprilis, tempore pontificatus S^{mi} in Christo patris, et domini, domini Eugenii divina providentia Papae IV, regnante serenissimo principe et domino, domino Federico Romanorum Rege semper augusto, presentibus spectabilibus viris domino Mariano Sozzini[46] eximio utriusque iuris doctore, juris perito viro domino Nicolao et dictis Pietro Johannis Turchii, Ser Francisco Bartoli et Ser Fabiano Antonii

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[41] Cf. Eugenio Lazzareschi, 'Inventario del fondo notarile,' *Gli Archivi Italiani*, ii (1915), fasc. 6, p. 194 (no. 248).

[42] Ciate o Ciute Schiatte; *Inventario del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca*, ii, 110.

[43] Giovanni Pampaloni, 'Elenco dei notari dei secoli XIII, XIV e XV,' *Bullettino senese*, i, 1894, p. 303 (no. 125).

[44] V. ci-dessus, p. 155, n. 38bis.

[45] V. ci-dessus, p. 148, n. 61.

[46] Sur le jurisconsulte bien connu Mariano Sozzini (ou Socini) senior, ancêtre des non moins fameux hérétiques Lelio et Fausto Sozzini, voir N. Mendozzi, 'Reliquie sozziniane,' *Bullettino senese*, iv, 1897, pp. 155–181. Il donna une consultation aux héritiers du testament de Guglielmaccio et de Francesco Petroni (*Consiliorum . . . Volumen quintum posthumum*, Venetiis, 1624, cons. 4).

Justi[47] notariis, civibus senensibus, testibus presentibus vocatis adhibitis et rogatis, qui quidem dominus potestas sedens pro tribunali in palacio eius solite residencie et ad eius solitum banchum Juris hora iuridica causarum de mane in supradictum sumptum cum dicto originali testamento bene concordatum, ut adhiberet dicto sumpto et exemplo de cetero plena fides, suam et communis Senarum predictis omnibus et singulis auctoritatem interposuit et decretum.

Ego Nicolaus filius Nanis olim Blasii Maserelli de Senis publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius et iudex ordinarius totum quod scriptum et exemplatum est manu dicti Ser Minocii vidi et legi in dicto publico testamento et dictum exemplum cum dicto testamento ut supra una cum suprascripto Ser Minocio . . . auscultavimus et bene invenimus ad invicem concordare nil addito vel diminuto . . . quod secundum mei notarii conscientiam mutet sensum vel variet intellectum in presentia suprascripti domini Georgii potestatis civitatis Senarum auctoritatem praedictam interponentis ut supra sub annis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi ab eius salutifera incarnatione millesimo quatringentesimo quadragesimo quarto indictione VII^{a} die vero vigesima secunda mensis aprilis secundum morem ritum et consuetudinem notariorum civitatis Senarum tempore pontificatus S^{mi} in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Eugenii divina providentia Papae IV, regnante serenissimo principe et domino, domino Federico Romanorum Rege semper augusto et coram testibus predictis et loco quibus supra. Et in fidem et testimonium premissorum me subscripsi et signum meum apposui consuetum.[48]

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[47] Pampaloni, *Elenco*, p. 300, n. 63.

[48] A la fin de ce petit article, je dois remercier très vivement le Directeur des Archives de Sienne, M. Giovanni Cecchini, et son assistante, Mlle Luciana Giannini, qui a bien voulu faire pour nous de longues et savantes recherches. Nous remercions aussi M. Sem Falcini, des mêmes archives, dont nous avons mis à contribution les talents de paléographe. J'adresse aussi un remerciement au dott. Giovanni Gualandi, de l'Université de Bologne, qui a revu la partie juridique.

ADDE ET CORRIGE: p. 149, 1.5. On nous propose de lire, au lieu de 'eosdem' 'eorumdem *ou* eiusdem'. La bonne copie porte 'eosdem' et on peut admettre ce texte.

p. 149, 1.6. On nous propose de lire, au lieu de 'qui alias', 'qualis'. La bonne copie porte 'qui alias'. 'Qualis' est cependant peut-être préférable pour le sens.

SOME FOURTEENTH-CENTURY NEAPOLITAN MILITARY EFFIGIES

WITH NOTES ON THE FAMILIES REPRESENTED

(Plates XXI–XXV)

Introduction
I. Francesco de Loffredo
II. Two Tombs of the Barrili Family
III. Two Tombs of the Piscicelli Family
IV. Loffredo and Trudella Filomarino
V. Arms and Armour, 1320–1360

Of all the remains of Angevin Naples that have come down to us, few have received so little attention as the large series of tombs and tomb-slabs preserved in the city's churches and museums. With the exception of certain of the royal tombs, almost none has been the object of detailed study. And yet, not only do they offer a valuable record of the persons and families commemorated, but they constitute an unrivalled repertory of the taste, costume and craftsmanship of fourteenth-century Naples.

The present note is intended to be no more than a brief introduction to the more extended study which we hope one day to be able to undertake. For this purpose we have chosen a few characteristic examples from what is the largest single group, the tomb-slabs and effigies of persons in military costume. The tombs selected belong to the earlier part of the century, and we have deliberately excluded the more elaborate of them, since they involve problems of style and artistic attribution which cannot usefully be discussed except in the context of a more general study. With this exception the monuments that form the subject of this note may be taken to offer a representative picture of the tombs of the Neapolitan nobility during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Within the series, one may conveniently distinguish four main types of tomb. The first type consists of simple rectangular slabs of marble, the incised design of which is picked out with a filling consisting of a black resinous substance. The technique is a familiar one in France during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and it continued in use in parts of Italy, e.g. in Rome, until a far later date. In Naples the surviving examples all belong to the relatively short period between 1301 (Tomaso and Giovanni Piscicelli, in the church of Santa Restituta, adjoining the Cathedral) and 1336 or 1346, the date of a fragmentary tombstone in the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, which bears the coat-of-arms of the de Sabran family, and which is presumably that of one of the sons of Guillaume de Sabran, count of Ariano, mentioned in the latter's will of 1353 as being in San Lorenzo.

The tombs of the second group are often of considerable architectural pretensions and consist essentially of an effigy recumbent upon a composite sarcophagus beneath a gabled canopy. Canopied tombs were already familiar in central Italy, and were probably introduced into Naples during the second decade of the fourteenth century; certainly before 1321, when we find their characteristic forms reflected on the incised tomb-slabs of the first group (see below, p. 161). After an initial period of experiment, represented by the surviving tomb of Catherine of Austria (*ob.* 1323) in the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore,[1] the Neapolitan series took definite shape with the erection of that commissioned in the will of Elizabeth of Hungary (*ob.* 1323) which still stands, substantially as designed and carved by Tino di Camaino, in the church of Santa Maria di Donna Regina.[2]

The third group consists of rectangular, marble tomb-slabs, carved in low counter-relief. Some of these are shown with the head upon a pillow within a simple rectangular frame, and clearly reflect the influence of the effigies of the previous group. An unusually early example can be seen on what survives of the tomb of Matteo Caracciolo (1314) in the Cathedral (cf. that of Tomaso Bulcan (1337) in the church of San Domenico Maggiore). On others, beginning with that of Joanna de Cavingiano (1329) formerly in the church of Santa Maria di Donna Regina and now in the Museo di San Martino, the figure is set within a canopy, exactly as on the incised tomb-slabs. For a very brief period incised and low-relief slabs remained in use side by side, but after the middle of the 'thirties the latter held the field undisputed.

The fourth group consists of composite wall-tombs, some with recumbent effigies on sarcophagi, others incorporating low-relief tomb-slabs. This type of tomb was essentially a modest version of its more spacious canopied contemporaries, and it varies greatly in detailed lay-out. Some of the eccentricities of these tombs are due to later recomposition; but in a great many cases they can be shown to have come down to us substantially in the form in which they were originally set up, and such cases often throw interesting light on the organisation of the workshops engaged in their manufacture.

Antiquity of lineage was always an unassailable criterion of nobility among the families of the city of Naples. Those which belonged to the two most ancient of the associations of nobles, the *Seggi* or *Plateae* (*Piazze*) of Capuana and Nido, never ceased to look down on the families of the newer groups which Robert forced them to accept: Montagna, Portanuova, and Porto. To Capuana and Nido belonged all the families, whether native or immigrant, who had established themselves in Naples before the coming of the Angevins—the old citizen aristocracy who administered the city after the middle of the twelfth century. The organisation of *piazze* throughout the city, for all classes of the population, developed out of the older regional divisions of the city for administrative purposes. We first see it clearly in the fuller documentation of the early Angevin period. By the end of the thirteenth century the nobles, who paid lighter taxes, were all collected in these two sections. They kept a geographical basis, and this explains why all the families discussed in the following sections belong to the *Seggio Capuana*, since their tombs, in the Cathedral and in the churches of San Lorenzo and Santa Maria di Donna Regina, all lie in the eastern (*Capuana*) part of the city.

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[1] Aldo de Rinaldis, 'Una tomba napoletana del MCCCXXII,' *Dedalo*, viii, 1927, pp. 201–219.

[2] Gino Chierici, *Il restauro della chiesa di S. Maria di Donnaregina a Napoli*, Naples, 1934, pp. 101–119.

In the early years of Angevin rule Naples, the capital of the Regno, increased rapidly in prosperity and importance, and this previously somewhat isolated and exclusive group of nobles found itself involved in the wider life of the kingdom, entering the royal administration, both central and local, acquiring lands outside Naples, and sometimes marrying further afield. Francesco de Loffredo, Loffredo Filomarino and Giovanni Barrili all illustrate this tendency. On the other hand, Marino and Riccardo Piscicelli and Pietro Barrili, although, as their tombs show, they were not one whit less noble or proud than their cousins, seem to have been content with narrower fields of activity, and to have lived and died Neapolitan gentlemen.

The society to which these people belonged was partly bilingual, and they used a third language for their epigraphy and for their official documents. In the circumstances any attempt to achieve strict uniformity of nomenclature is almost bound to smack of pedantry, and in certain cases to convey a positively false impression. As a working rule we have used the Italian forms of common names; but we have not hesitated to use other forms wherever these may seem more appropriate.

The following works are cited in abbreviated form:

De Lellis	Carlo de Lellis, Notamenta ex Registris; the references in brackets are to the Registers cited.
De Lellis, *Discorsi*	Id., *Discorsi delle famiglie nobili del Regno di Napoli.* Naples, 1654–63.
Nap. Sac.	Cesare d'Engenio, *Napoli Sacra.* Naples, 1623.

To Conte Riccardo Filangieri di Candida, Director of the National Archives at Naples, to Signorina Bianca Mazzoleni, and to Professor Bruno Molajoli, Superintendent of Galleries, we wish to express our warm gratitude for help on many occasions. To the latter we are also indebted for two of the photographs reproduced; the rest are the work of Mr. A. Sheldon Pennoyer in 1944. The rubbings are our own, and are the best we could secure under rather difficult conditions. Finally, to Miss Jamison herself we owe not only the debt that any student in this field must feel, but also a deep personal debt of gratitude for sage advice on many occasions, and for her invariable patience over any enquiry, however trivial; above all, for the standards of precise scholarship which she has always demanded from her friends and pupils.

I. Francesco de Loffredo

(Pl. XXII, *a*)

Incised tomb-slab, formerly in the church of Santa Maria di Donna Regina, in the Loffredo (Loffrido) chapel (*Nap. Sac.*, p. 171); now in the Museo di San Martino. Greek marble. 1·79 m. × 0·74 (0·68) m. It is inscribed in rather crude 'Lombardic' lettering (reading continuously round the frame from the top left-hand corner):

> + ANNO . D(omi)NI . MCCC (space for several letters) . HOC SEPVLCRV(m) EST . D(omi)NI FRANCISCI . DE LOFFRIDO . QVI . HANC . CAPELLAM . FECIT . FIERI . AD . LAVDEM . DEI . ET . REVERENCIA(m) . NOMINIS . BEATI . IOH(anni)S . (e)VA(n)GELISTE . CVIVS . ANIMA . REQUIESCAT . IN . PACE

E. Bertaux, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina* (Società Napoletana di Storia Patria: *Documenti per la storia e per le arti e le industrie delle provincie napoletane*, n.s., vol. i, Naples, 1899), pp. 32–33.

The figure lies, with crossed hands and with feet resting on two dogs, beneath a trilobed canopy, gabled and crocketed, with two identical shields (*vair?*) in the triangular spaces between canopy and frame. It is shown clad in full mail, with a long, sleeveless surcoat, belted at the waist and reaching half-way down the lower leg. The mail gauntlets hang loose at the wrists and the separate coif is fastened by a lace, the two ends of which hang down from the neck. The prick spurs are indicated very summarily. The only other details shown are the surcoat-belt, a narrow buckled belt (the buckle is hidden) with a metal tag, and the sword, which hangs from a second, broader belt, to which the scabbard is fastened by thongs or by stitching, rather than by a metal fitting. The sword itself is shown with a circular (probably globular) pommel, spirally-wound grip, straight quillons, and a scabbard bound with what appear to be metal mounts and ending in a forked metal chape.

The figure itself might be of any date between 1300 and 1330. But the canopy over it cannot possibly be as early as the ostensible date of the inscription. The earliest tomb-slabs of the Neapolitan series, e.g. that of Tomaso and Giovanni Piscicelli (1301) in Santa Restituta, and that of Brother Donatus (1308) in San Lorenzo Maggiore, show the figure framed within a simple, trilobed arch, without a pediment. It is not until the 'twenties that crocketed pediments make their appearance, the earliest surviving examples being those on the incised slabs of Pietro Barrili (1320 : see below), and of Walter Carazulus (Caracciolo) Viola (1321) and of an unknown cleric (1322–1323), both in the Museo di San Martino. These, with their armorial shields in the upper corners between the pediment and the frame, depict, already fully formed, a type of canopy that was to remain in common use, with very little change, until well into the fifteenth century (cf. Pls. XXI, XXII). That it was derived from one or more of the several important tombs, now destroyed, that were erected in Naples shortly before 1320,[3] there can be little doubt. In the same way we can detect the influence of Tino di Camaino's work in a group of tomb-slabs carved in the 'thirties and 'forties, the most distinctive feature of which is that the canopy has five lobes instead of three. Tino's earliest recorded work in Naples is the tomb of Maria of Hungary (*ob.* 1323) in Santa Maria di Donna Regina, and the first of these derivative tomb-slabs to have survived is the low-relief effigy of Pietro Capece (1333) in the Cathedral.

Despite the rather poor quality of Francesco de Loffredo's monument, its position within the series cannot be in doubt. It must have been carved after *c.* 1320, and on the evidence of costume it can hardly be later than *c.* 1330. The inscription was evidently cut before his death, which took place after 1325 (see below), and the exact date was never added. Historians of the church of Santa Maria di Donna Regina have been puzzled by the ostensible date of this tombstone, 1300;[4] since the chapel to the construction of which it refers is quite clearly an integral part of Maria of Hungary's church and the latter was not completed until some twenty years later, *c.* 1320. If Francesco did not die until after 1325 the difficulty is resolved. The chapel could have been built at the same time as the church, and its founder buried within it after its completion.

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[3] Some of these are recorded by Ottavio Morisani, *Tino da Camaino a Napoli*, Naples, 1945, pp. 11, 95.

[4] Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 33; cf. pp. 12–13. Gino Chierici, *op. cit.* p. 57.

We first meet a Francesco de Loffredo in 1298, among the knights of the *Seggio Capuana* who agreed to restrict their expenses on dress.[5] He was the only representative of his family present on this occasion; he also appears to have been the first to attain a position of any eminence in the Kingdom. His career as a public servant can be followed almost continuously from 1299 to 1311, and he was still occasionally active after this, until last heard of in 1325. For the year 1299–1300 (officials were usually appointed in September, with the new Indiction) he was one of the *secreti* for the Principato and Terra di Lavoro[6] and, probably in 1300, he farmed the *gabelle* of salt on the *dogana* at Naples, together with Ligorio Coppola,[7] and the same tax in the Principato, Terra di Lavoro and county of Molise, with Landolfo Labro, knight, and Giovanni de Musco.[8] In the year 1301–1302 he is described as *secretus* in Apulia,[9] as well as former Master of the Passes of the Terra di Lavoro and county of Molise.[10] In 1302–1303 he was Justiciar of both halves of the Principato, Citra and Ultra,[11] in 1303–1304 Justiciar of the Capitanata,[12] Justiciar of the Principato again 1304–1305,[13] in 1305–1306 Justiciar of the Terra di Bari,[14] in 1306–1307 *secretus* in Apulia.[15] In 1310–1311 he was again one of the collectors of the *gabelle* of salt on the *dogana* at Naples;[16] in 1317–1318 again *secretus* in Apulia.[17] In 1325 Charles of Calabria, Vicar General of the Kingdom, writing to the city of Naples to order the payment of compensation to the monastery of S. Pietro a Castello for damage to its garden caused by the building of a new street, addressed the letter to Francesco de Loffredo, Bernardo Caracciolo, and two judges.[18] He was, therefore, a leading citizen of Naples at this time.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that these twenty-six years of activity represent the career of one man, who retired to spend his last years in Naples and probably died soon after 1325; and that it is he who is commemorated on the tomb-slab from Santa Maria di Donna Regina. What we know of the ages of his sons makes it unlikely that he survived for long after this date. He had three sons, Filippo, Giovanni and Henry. Filippo is found acting as *secretus* with his father in Apulia in 1306 and after this figures independently in various official positions. Giovanni, who made a payment into the Treasury on behalf of his father in 1320[19] and was thereafter several times Justiciar, was in the spring of 1333 in charge of preparing the apartments in Barletta where Carobert of Hungary and his young son, the six-year-old Prince Andrew, were to lodge on their way to Naples for the marriage of Prince Andrew with the seven-year-old Princess Joanna.[20] In the autumn of the same year he was one of the Chamberlains of King Robert told off to join the newly formed household of the young duke of Calabria.[21] The third son, Henry, called *filius minor* in the Privilege which Francesco obtained in 1301,[22] is also later found acting as a royal official.

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[5] G. B. Bolvito, Variarum Rerum, i, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, MS San Martino 441, p. 7.

[6] De Lellis, iv, 597 (Reg. Ang. 1301–1302 A, fol. 383).

[7] De Lellis, iii, 1558 (Reg. Ang. 1229 B, fol. 16, 16*v*.).

[8] *Ibid.*, 1626 (Reg. Ang. 1299 B, fol. 176*v*).

[9] De Lellis, iv, 592 (Reg. Ang. 1301–1302 A, fol. 353).

[10] *Ibid.*, 596 (Reg. Ang. 1301–1302 A, fol. 382).

[11] *Ibid.*, 716–717 (Reg. Ang. 1304 F, fol. 193*v*., 194).

[12] *Ibid.*, 205 (Reg. Ang. 1304 A, fol. 119).

[13] De Lellis, iii, 979 (Reg. Ang. 1306 I, fol. 150.).

[14] De Lellis, iv, 223 (Reg. Ang. 1305–1306 C, fol. 2*v*.).

[15] *Ibid.*, 1003 (Reg. Ang. 1306 D, fol. 21*v*.).

[16] De Lellis, iii, 34 (Reg. Ang. 1310 H, fol. 334*v*.).

[17] De Lellis, iv, 185 (Reg. Ang. 1317 B, fol. 398*v*.).

[18] C. Minieri Riccio, *Saggio di Codice Diplomatico, Supplemento, Parte Seconda*, Naples, 1883, p. 99.

[19] De Lellis, iii, 1048 (Reg. Ang. 1320 B, fol. 51*v*. and 147*v*.).

[20] E. G. Léonard, *Jeanne I, Reine de Naples* (Paris, 1932), i, p. 150.

Well established in Naples when Charles of Anjou arrived, as the presence of Francesco among the nobles of the *Seggio Capuana* shows, the de Loffredo family, which owned a house in the *Platea Capuana* opposite that of the archbishop of Naples in 1265,[23] believed itself to be of Norman origin. This claim, which may indeed be correct and was accepted by most of the Neapolitan genealogists of the sixteenth century and later, was based on a number of forgeries: a chronicle by one William Glaber and several documents, four purporting to be of Norman kings and two of Hohenstaufen.[24] The forged Diary of Matteo Spinelli of Giovenazzo also assisted in proving the antiquity and distinction of the family by telling of the important part played by one Francesco de Loffredo in the early years of the reign of Charles I. The date at which the Privileges were forged is uncertain. Carlo de Lellis saw in the Angevin Register 1300–1301 A[25] a Privilege granting fifty ounces a year to Francesco de Loffredo and his son Henry for the duration of their two lives, and confirming three earlier, and unquestionably forged, Privileges, which were included in it in full—those of Roger to Alexius de Loffredo in 1141, of William II to Philip de Loffredo in 1187, and of Frederick II to William de Loffredo the Norman in 1246. To-day, after the destruction of the Register, it is difficult to decide whether the Privilege of 18 August 1301 should be added to the list of forgeries made on behalf of the de Loffredo family, probably in the sixteenth century, when such activities were far from unusual in Naples.[26] It shows a detailed and accurate knowledge of the de Loffredo family at the time, and if it is itself authentic, the three unquestionably forged Privileges included in it must have been in existence as early as 1301.

The first authentically distinguished member of the de Loffredo family, who built a chapel for himself and his descendants, may then have also been one of the earliest to propagate and to profit by forgeries concerning the Norman antecedents of his family.

II. Two Tombs of the Barrili Family
(Pls. XXI, *a*; XXIV)

(*a*) *Pietro Barrili, ob.* 1320, *and family* (Pl. XXI, *a*).

Incised marble tomb-slab, 1·97 m. × 0·74 m., set in the floor of the fourth ambulatory chapel on the right of the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore. It is inscribed in 'Lombardic' lettering (with abbreviation signs):

(i) reading continuously round the frame from the top left-hand corner:

+ HIC . REQ(ui)ESCIT . CORPV(s) . D(omi)NI . PETRI . BARRILIS . Q(ui) . OBIIT . ANNO . D(omi)NI . M.C.C.C.XX . DIE . VII . MENSIS . DECEMBRIS . IIII . I(n)DICTIONIS . CVIVS . ANIMA . REQ(ui)ESCAT . IN . PACE . AMEN . AMEN .

(ii) in smaller letters, within a frame at the feet:

S(u)B HOC TVMVLO REQ(ui)ESCVNT CORPORA PATRIS VXORIS (et) FILIORVM

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[22] See below.

[23] De Lellis, *Discorsi delle famiglie nobili del Regno di Napoli*, i (Naples, 1654), p. 305.

[24] K. A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der Normannisch-Sicilischen Könige*, Innsbruck, 1902, pp. 390–394.

[25] De Lellis, iii, 1699 (Reg. Ang. 1300–1301 A, fol. 108). Fol. 1–161 contained Privileges.

[26] De Lellis remarks 'sed fals. ex omnibus considerationibus,' but does this apply to the Privilege of 1301 or only to the three contained in it?

The figure is shown, with crossed hands and feet resting on a rectilinear plate or cushion, beneath a trilobed canopy, gabled and crocketed, a rather more elaborate version of that shown on the tomb-slab of Francesco de Loffredo. In the triangular spaces between canopy and frame are two identical shields, each with a griffin segreant (*azure a griffin segreant or*).

The figure itself wears full mail, with a long sleeveless surcoat, belted at the waist (the belt is hidden) and reaching half-way down the lower leg. The mail gauntlets hang loose at the wrists, and the coif has a tasselled top-knot. The broad, buckled sword-belt hangs loosely round the hips, with metal buckle and tag, and is fastened by crossed thongs to the scabbard, which has two metal mounts and a metal chape. The sword is shown as having what is probably a wheel pommel (or possibly a disc pommel with concentric rings of ornament), a spirally-wound grip and straight quillons of medium length, slightly expanded at the ends. The points of the prick-spurs are shown clasped in the mouths of small animals.

(*b*) *Giovanni Barrili, ob.* 1356, *and family* (Pl. XXIV).

Tomb in the form of a composite sarcophagus, standing on a pair of lion pedestals in the middle of the same chapel. The back, the bottom and the two ends of the chest (202 m. × 0·68 m. × 0·65 m.) are cut from a single block of marble, to which has been added a separate frontal. The left-hand end is plain; the other three faces are carved in shallow relief. The lid consists of an effigy recumbent on a flat slab (2·14 m. × 0·71 m.), and is carved from a single block of marble. The tomb is inscribed in 'Lombardic' lettering with abbreviation signs, as follows:

(i) on the narrow vertical face of the upper slab, starting at the front left-hand corner, by the feet of the recumbent figure, and running round three sides; the left-hand end is plain:

> + HIC . IACET . CO(rpus) . MAGNIFICI . ET . EG(re)GII . VIRI . D(omi)NI . IOH(ann)IS . BA(r)ILI(s) . D(e) . NEAP(oli) . MILITIS . Q(ui) . OBIT . SVB . AN(n)O NATIVITATIS . D(omi)NI . M . CCC . LVI . DIE . IOVIS . VLTIMO . ME(n)S(is) . DECE(m)B(ris) . NON(a)E IND(ictionis) . NEAP(oli) . CVI(us) . A(n)I(m)A . REQ(ui)ESCAT . I(n) . PACE . AM(en) + HIC . IACET . CO(r)P(us) . MAG(n)IFIC(i) . ET . EGR(e)GIV(s) (*sic*) . V(ir)I . D(omi)N(u)S (*sic*) . IACOB(i) . BA(ri)LIS . MIL(itis) . D(e) . NEAP(o)LI . Q(ui) . OBIIT . AN(n)O . NATI(vitatis) D(omi)NI . M . CCC . LXXXIII . (die) XXVI . M(ensis) MA(r)CII . VI . IND(ictionis)

(ii) continuing the previous inscription along the upper border of the rear slab:

> CV(ius) . A(n)I(m)A . REQ(ui)ES(c)AT . I(n) . PACE . AM (en) + HIC . IACET . CO(r)P(us) . NOBILI(s) . VIRI . D(omi)NI . NICOLAI . BA(ri)LI(s) . D(e) . NEAP(oli) . MILIT(is) . FILII . CO(n)DA(m) . MAG(n)IFICI . ET . EG(re)GII . VIRI . D(omi)NI . IACOBI BA(rilis)

(iii) continuing the previous inscription along the lower border of the rear slab:

> Q(ui) . OBIIT . EODE(m) . AN(n)O . D(omi)NI . M . CCC . LXXXIII . (die) XX . VI . ME(n)S(is) . MA(r)CII . VII . IND(ictionis). CVI(u)S . A(n)I(m)A . REQ(ui)ES(c)AT . I(n) . PACE . AMEN

(iv) along the upper and lower borders of the front slab:

> (*upper*) HIC . IACET . CORPVS . NOBILIS . VIRI . D(omi)NI . NICOLAI . BARRILIS . DE NEAPOLI . QVI . OBVIT (*sic*) . ANNO . D(omi)NI M. CCC . XXXVII . DIE
>
> (*lower*) XXV . APRELIS (*sic*) . P(ri)M(a)E . IND(ictionis) . CVI(us) . A(n)I(m)A . REQVIESCAT . IN . PACE . AMEN . AMEN

(v) along the upper border and in the field of the slab at the right-hand end:

> + HIC . IACET . CORPUS . NOBILIS . VIRI . D(omi)NI PHILIPPI . BARRILIS . DE . NEAPOLI . QVI . OBIIT . ANNO . D(omi)NI . M . CCCXXXI . DIE . VIIII . MARCII . DECIM(a)E IND(ictionis) . CVIVS . A(n)I(m)A . REQ(u)IESCAT . IN . PACE . EM(en) (*sic*)

The figure on the top is carved in high relief with the head upon a tasselled pillow, the feet resting on a pair of dogs. Those on the front (Pl. XXIV, *a*) and back are similar, but are carved in considerably lower relief and, as the positions of the head and feet show, were intended from the outset to be used vertically. The carving of the small kneeling figure on the right-hand end (Pl. XXIV, *b*) corresponds to that of the figures on front and back. There can be little doubt that, despite the very differing dates of the persons ostensibly represented, the tomb was carved as a whole and composed in substantially the form in which it has come down to us. It must have been commissioned by Giovanni Barrili, who occupied the principal position on it, after the death of Nicola (presumably his son of that name; see below) in 1347; and it was intended from the outset to serve for other members of his family, three of whom are recorded in inscriptions that were added when the tomb was already in place. It will be noted that the inscriptions of Jacopo and the second Nicola are far more heavily abbreviated than that of Giovanni, suggesting that they had to be fitted in as best they could; and a date as late as 1383 for the whole composition can in any case be excluded absolutely on the grounds of the armour worn by the four figures.

In costume and armour the four figures are very alike. They are shown bareheaded, wearing a mail shirt, the lining of which can be seen at neck and wrists, and a sleeveless surcoat fitting tightly over the body and falling to the knees as an ample, pleated skirt. The sword, with its short, straight quillons and rudimentary wheel-pommel, is fastened to a narrow, buckled sword-belt looped loosely about the hips, from the right-hand side of which hangs a dagger with a very simple, H-shaped hilt. The rowel-spurs, with short shank and curving arms, can be seen most clearly on the kneeling figure. All four wear mail leggings; but whereas the figure on the back carries no other armour on the legs, the other three wear elaborately embossed greaves, shaped to fit over the ankle and fastened round the calf by a pair of straps, and, over the greaves, knee-cops fitted with a fringe of mail to cover the joint. All alike wear an embossed oval guard, shaped to fit the upper arm and fastened by straps, and a small, flat or saucer-shaped disc, fastened with a point at the elbow. The shoulders of the figure on the top slab are hidden by embroidered shoulder-flaps, which form part of the surcoat, but the other three can be seen to be wearing shaped shoulder-guards, like the arm-guards and greaves.

An interesting feature of this tomb is that there are still considerable traces of the colouring with which many, perhaps all, of the Neapolitan monuments were once enriched. The kneeling figure on the right-hand end wore a blue surcoat over a red under-garment; the background was blue and the lettering gilt. On the surcoat of Nicola, on the front, can be traced the outline of his coat-of-arms, gilt (?) on a blue ground; and the background was blue with an overall design of lozenges and rosettes.

The Barrili family belonged to the *Aienti* (or *Aggiunti*) of the *Seggio Capuana.* Pietro (called *dominus* but not *miles* on his slab) may probably be identified with the knight Pietro Barrili who signed the pact of 1298.[27] Only one other Barrili was present, Filippo, almost certainly not the Filippo who died in 1341. Pietro, a Neapolitan gentleman who possessed lands and houses in the city,[28] is named on several occasions among the knights of the Kingdom,[29] but apparently never served in any administrative capacity.

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[27] G. B. Bolvito, Variarum Rerum, i, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, MS San Martino 441, pp. 6, 11.

Giovanni Barrili was the friend of Boccaccio, with whom he jested in Neapolitan,[30] and the correspondent of Petrarch, whom he conducted round the Phlegraean Fields in 1341.[31] He belongs to that class which was so widespread in the early days of the Renaissance; the distinguished public servant who interested himself in literature and men of letters, and occasionally wrote himself. His career began under Robert: he was active both in the Regno and as ambassador to the pope; in 1334 he was assigned to the household of Prince Andrew of Calabria, and later was Magister Rationalis, in charge of the Treasury.[32] King Robert sent him to Rome in 1341 to place the laurel crown on Petrarch's head, but he was prevented by being ambushed on the way, at Anagni. At the end of the same year, he was sent with his friend, Nicola Acciaiuoli, to negotiate in Tuscany.

He was among the servants of the old king who continued in office under Joanna until 1344, when the Cardinal legate reorganised the administrative personnel; it was presumably then that he left the administration. In 1348 he led the delegation of Neapolitans who negotiated with King Louis of Hungary about the treatment of the city, and shortly after the return of Joanna in the same year he was sent to Provence as Seneschal, at a moment when the situation there was far from simple and when he would also be responsible for important negotiations with the pope. The appointment was a tribute to his reputation. Through no fault of his own he fell victim to the factions in Provence, and by May 1349 he was superseded and with him Joanna's policy for the county.

Not sharing the views of the group which now ruled at court and, to Petrarch's sorrow, his friendship with Nicola Acciauoli ended, he seems to have lived in retirement until his death on the last day of December 1355. His friend the Neapolitan humanist Barbato da Sulmona wrote and informed Petrarch of this event, and asked him to write an epitaph for Barrili's tomb.[33]

Petrarch compared Barrili and Barbato to Vergil and Homer, and he described Barrili as 'dear to the Muses' and considered him a good judge of Latin verse.[34] Not a word that he wrote has survived. In addition to his letters to Petrarch, to which we have the answers, he is said by Barbato to have written an epitaph for the infant son of Mary, Joanna's sister, and Philip of Durazzo. This was probably their first child, christened Louis, who died very soon after he was born in 1344 and was buried in Santa Chiara.[35] Both Petrarch and Boccaccio refer on several occasions to conversations they had with him in Naples and the neighbouring ancient sites. Boccaccio in *La Caccia di Diana* paid him the compliment of making a probably imaginary lady of his family, Zizzola Barile, the first of Diana's nymphs.

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[28] De Lellis, iv *bis*, 562–563 (Reg. Ang. 1307 B, fol. 9–11*v*.).

[29] E.g. de Lellis, iii, 1748 (Reg. Ang. 1309 A, fol. 106*v*.).

[30] E. G. Léonard, *Boccace et Naples*, Paris, 1949, p. 25; F. Torraca, 'G. Boccaccio a Napoli (1326–1339)', *Rassegna Critica della Letteratura Italiana*, xx, 1915, pp. 186–187.

[31] E. G. Léonard, *Un Ami de Petrarque: Giovanni Barrili*, reprinted from *Études Italiennes*, Paris, 1927, p. 109.

[32] For these and the following details of Barrili's career see the work of Léonard cited in the last note.

[33] M. Vattasso, *Del Petrarca e di alcuni suoi amici*, Rome, 1904 (Studi e Testi, 14), p. 33.

[34] Torraca, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[35] Vattasso, *loc. cit.*

The name of at least one of Giovanni's daughters is known, Regale, whose marriage to Perrillo Siginulfo was planned in 1328.[36] We know that two of his sons were called Bartolomeo[37] and Nicola.[38] The latter is presumably the Nicola who figures on the front of his tomb, and Filippo, on the right-hand end, may be a third son. In 1341 he arranged for his grandson Joannellus, the son of his eldest son, now dead, and here unnamed, to marry Delfinella de Barras, daughter of the late Barasello de Barras; Joannellus was seven years old at the time.[39] In the same agreement it was settled that Giovanni's son Nicola should marry Filipella the sister of Barasello. One Nicola Barrili was sent to Piedmont by Joanna in 1347,[40] when the government was attempting to re-establish its position there; but this may well have been another person of the same name, since the Nicola commemorated on this tomb died on 20 April 1347. Giovanni's wife was Maria d'Auferio.[41]

The relationship of the two remaining members of the family to be buried in the tomb is not recorded, and practically nothing is known about their lives. In 1381 Jacopo, together with Antonio Origlia, was collecting *gabelle*;[42] in the same year we learn that Nicola Barrili, presumably his son, had a wife Joannella de Platamone of Salerno.[43] Jacopo and Nicola make an enigmatic exit together on 26 March 1383. At this time Charles of Durazzo was holding Naples against Louis of Anjou; in February negotiations were going on for a duel between the two leaders[44]; and on 5 April they fought a battle near Campobasso with severe losses on both sides. It is not impossible that Jacopo and Nicola died of plague.[45] But there must have been many lesser engagements and forays which escaped the attention of the chroniclers, and violence seems the most likely explanation for their simultaneous extinction.

III. Two Tombs of the Piscicelli Family

(Pls. XXIII, XXV, *b*)

(*a*) *Marino* (?) *Piscicelli, ob.* 1327 (Pls. XXIII, *c*; XXV, *b*).

Lidless marble sarcophagus in the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, photographed in the nave in 1944; at present stored and inaccessible. The sarcophagus is presumably a classical piece, cut back and recarved on one face. In the centre, within a circular frame, Christ-Pantocrator; to the right an angel presenting the kneeling figure of a knight; to the left a second angel holding an incense-boat and swinging a censer.

Probably to be identified as the lower part of the tomb of Marino Piscicelli, which formerly stood in the last nave-chapel on the right, under the organ. According to d'Engenio it bore the inscription:

> HIC IACET CORPUS DOMINI MARINI PISCICELLI DICTI DE APRANO MILITIS DE NEAP. QUI OBIIT A.D. MCCCXXVII DIE MARTIS II MENSIS IULII XV IND.

Nap. Sac., p. 116; see also De Lellis, *Discorsi*, ii, p. 30.

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[36] Torraca, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[37] De Lellis, iv *bis*, 1250 (Reg. Ang. 1337 A, fol. 263*v*.).

[38] De Lellis, iv, 820 (Reg. Ang. 1340 A, fol. 65*v*.).

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Léonard, *Jeanne I*, i, 693.

[41] Torraca, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[42] S. Sicola, Repertorium vii, 10; citing Reg. Ang. 1381, fol. 146.

[43] *Ibid.*, 130; citing Reg. Ang. 1382/1383, fol. 248*v*.

[44] *Chronicon Siculum Incerti autoris*, ed. G. de Blasiis, Naples, 1887, pp. 48, 49.

[45] The plague was rife in Louis' army: the Count of Savoy died of it in the Molise on 1 March. M. Camera, *Elucubrazioni storicodiplomatico su Giovanna I^a . . . e Carlo III di Durazzo*, Salerno, 1889, pp. 312–313.

The kneeling figure wears a mail coif, with fillet and top-knot; mail shirt with sleeves loose at the wrist, exposing the undergarment; and a long, sleeveless surcoat, belted at the waist and falling nearly to the ankle. The surcoat falls open at the knee to expose the right leg, with greaves, an overlapping plate covering the knee and part of the thigh, and rowel-spurs. The sword is slung from a loose, buckled belt, which is fastened to the scabbard by means of a metal attachment; the pommel is somewhat pyramidal in shape, rounded and flattened, and the quillons are drooping. Prominently displayed at the shoulder is one of a pair of ailettes, bearing the arms of Piscicelli (*gules a bend indented point in point or and azure differenced with a crescent sinister chief*).

Although the precise form of Marino's coat-of-arms is not known, the armour is unquestionably that of the 'twenties of the fourteenth century. Since there is no record of any other member of the Piscicelli family having been buried in San Lorenzo about this date, the identification seems to be reasonably certain.

(*b*) *Riccardo Piscicelli, ob.* 1331 (Pl. XXIII, *a*, *b*).

Marble sarcophagus-tomb in the church of Santa Restituta, in the north-east chapel (the Piscicelli chapel), opposite the entrance to the baptistry of San Giovanni in Fonte. The chest, which now stands in the middle of the chapel, is cut from a third-century Roman 'Seasons' sarcophagus, the main carved face of which, with a portrait-medallion of the deceased, was evidently designed to be placed against a wall when it was reused in the fourteenth century. The other three faces have been recut in low relief: on the front (i.e. on what had been the back) the bust of the dead Christ within a circular frame and, on either side of it, the figure of a kneeling knight; and on either end, a large shield with the coat-of-arms of Piscicelli *gules a bend indented point in point or and azure within a bordure engrailed.*

The life-sized recumbent effigy (length, 1·70 m.) rests on a separate marble slab, the frontal of a Roman strigil sarcophagus, carved on the upper surface to represent drapery. The inscription, in 'Lombardic' lettering with some abbreviations, is cut along the border of this slab, running continuously from the feet round to the head; it reads:

> + HIC . IACET . NOBILIS . VIR . D(omi)N(u)S . RIZA(r)DUS PISSICELLUS . DE NEAP(o)L(i) . MILES . Q(ui) . HOBIIT (*sic*) . AN(n)O D(omi)NI . M . CCC . XXXI . DIE . XV . ME(n)SIS . IANUARII . XIII . IND(ictionis) . CUI(us) A(n)I(m)A . REQ(ui)ESCAT IN . PACE . AMEN

Nap. Sac., p. 37; De Lellis, *Discorsi*, ii, p. 35.

The recumbent figure is bare-headed, with crossed hands and with feet resting against a pair of dogs; the head rests on a tasselled cushion, which was no doubt painted to represent embroidery. A sleeveless surcoat fits tightly over the upper body and falls in a loose skirt to just below the knee, covering the mail shirt, except at the neck and arms. The lining of the mail shirt is visible at the neck as a scalloped fringe, and the sleeves fall loosely to the wrist. Over the mail sleeves are worn embossed oval plates on the upper arm, and discs fastened by points at elbow and shoulder; and over the mail leggings greaves and knee-cops (visible on the kneeling figures). The sword, with disc-pommel and straight quillons, is fastened to a narrow sword-belt, slung obliquely across the hips, with a 'double volute' dagger (see p. 173) hanging at the right-hand side. The kneeling figures wear rowel spurs; otherwise, except for the unusual form of the arm-plates, they repeat the costume of the main effigy.

The Piscicelli family belong to the *Seggio Capuana*, being associated with the Capece section. Carlo de Lellis, who thinks it either native Neapolitan or Lombard in origin, describes it as one of the most ancient and noble families of Naples, distinguished from the time of the Normans until his own day,[46] and cited by Dante in the *Convivio* (iv, 29) as an example of the second type of nobility, comparable to the Sannazzaro of Pavia. In the early fourteenth century, according to de Lellis, the family was dividing into branches, Piscicelli Zurli and Piscicelli de Aprano, the tomb of Marino being evidence for the separate existence of the de Aprano branch already in 1327.[47]

Marino appears to have left no evidence of the activities which occupied his lifetime; Riccardo very little more. Both, if we may assume the identification, were present as *vallecti* at the agreement of 1298, in addition to four other Piscicelli knights.[48] Riccardo, we are told, was a knight high in the favour of Robert and of Charles of Calabria; in 1322 he received a Privilege making him *cambellanus* and *familiaris*, and a member of the duke of Calabria's hôtel.[49]

The chapel where Richard's tomb now is, the chapel of the Piscicelli family, once contained many more of their memorials than it does to-day. These used to include the tomb of Tomaso, a distinguished contemporary of Riccardo's, who died in 1334; a marble with the arms of all the various branches of the family; and another marble with the arms of all those of its members who belonged to the Order of the Knot.

IV. LOFFREDO FILOMARINO

(Pls. XXII, *b*, XXV, *a*)

Composite tomb of Loffredo Filomarino and of his daughter Trudella, both of whom died in 1335; in the Cathedral, in the first nave-chapel on the left. It consists of four separate elements:

(*a*) a round-ended Roman sarcophagus of Proconnesian marble (2·20 m. × 0·75 m. × 0·66 m.), with its carved face (a Dionysiac subject?) turned to the wall and the other face recut to represent the figure of a knight kneeling in prayer (Pl. XXV, *a*) between two large shields bearing the Filomarino coat-of-arms (*vert on a bend argent a bendlet gules all between four fleur de lis in chief and three in base or*).

(*b*) placed on (*a*) and tilted slightly forward, a rectangular tomb-slab of Proconnesian marble (2·14 m. × 0·71 m.) carved in shallow counter-relief with the effigy of Loffredo (Pl. XXII, *b*). It is inscribed in 'Lombardic' lettering with some abbreviations (reading continuously round the frame, starting at the head, to the right of the gable finial):

> + HIC . IACET . D(omi)N(u)S . LOFFRIDUS . FILIMARIN(us) . SENESCALL(us) . D(omi)NI . DUCIS . CALAB(r)IE . QUI . OBIIT . ANNO D(omi)NI . M . CCC . XXXV . DIE . QUARTODECIMO . MENS(is) . APRELIS (*sic*) . III . IND(ictionis) . CUI(us) . A(n)I(m)A . REQ(u)IESCAT . I(n) . PACE

(*c*) set vertically against the wall-face, immediately above the rear edge of (*b*) a small Roman sarcophagus-frontal of Proconnesian marble (1·48 m. × 0·32 m.), partly recut. In the central panel is a shield bearing the coat-of-arms of Filomarino (as above) impaling *three lozenges in less and in chief three martlets.*

(*d*) above (*c*), a rectangular tomb-slab of Italian marble (1·82 m. × 0·61 m.), carved in shallow counter-relief with the effigy of Trudella. This is inscribed along the top and bottom borders of the frame, and from the position of head, hands and feet it is clear that the slab was always meant to be used vertically; on the other hand, unfinished half-shields in the uninscribed right- and left-hand margins suggest that the original intention of the composition was more elaborate. The inscription reads:

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[46] *Discorsi*, ii, pp. 30–32.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.

[48] G. B. Bolvito, Variarum Rerum, i, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, MS San Martino 441, p. 9. The knights are Bartolomeo, Tomaso, and two Pietros.

[49] F. Campanile, *Trattato delle armi ovvero insegne de' nobili*, Naples, 1680, p. 273.

> (*top*) HIC . IACET . D(omi)NA . TRUDELLA . FILIMARINA . DE NEAPOLI . FILIA . D(omi)NI . LOFFRIDI . FILIMARINI . SENESCALCHI . DOMINI.
> (*bottom*) DUCIS . QUI . OBIIT . ANNO . D(omi)NI . M . CCC . XXXV . DIE XXV . ME(n)S(is) . SEPTE(m)BRIS . IND(ictionis) . V . QUI(us) (*sic*) . A(n)I(m)A . REQ(ui)ESCAT . I(n) . PACE .

According to De Lellis, *Parte Seconda o'vero Supplemento a Napoli Sacra di D. Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo*, Naples, 1654, p. 4, the chapel of the Filomarino family was originally in the church of San Giorgio Maggiore. In 1289 Giovanni Filomarino transferred the remains of his ancestors to a new chapel, which he had built in the Cathedral, off the right-hand side of the nave, and in which he was himself buried in 1302, in a tomb described by De Lellis as 'of a quality unusual for the time.' This chapel was demolished in 1644 by Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino, archbishop of Naples, to make way for the new Tesoro, or chapel of San Gennaro, and such of the earlier tombs as survived were then transferred to their present position in the first chapel on the left. It is by no means certain, therefore, that all the elements of the tomb of Loffredo and Trudella belong together, especially since the coat-of-arms on (*c*) should be that of a married woman rather than of an unmarried daughter. On the other hand, there is a certain presumption that father and daughter dying within a few months of each other, shared a common monument; there are plenty of parallels for the individual figures of a single tomb wearing costume of slightly differing dates, and the remaining discrepancies may be due to faulty recomposition in the seventeenth century. If the tomb in its present form is a seventeenth-century pastiche, the sarcophagus must come from the tomb of another member of the same family who died a few years before Loffredo.

Nap. Sac., p. 33. The tomb is illustrated by S. Di Giacomo, *Napoli*, vol. i (*Italia Antica*, no. 32) 1907, p. 48. For the tomb-slab of Trudella, see L. de la Ville sur-Yllon, *Napoli Nobilissima*, v, 1896, p. 96.

The figure of Loffredo (Pl. XXII, *b*) lies, with crossed hands and feet resting on a pair of dogs, beneath an elegant trilobed canopy, gabled and crocketed, with two shields bearing the Filomarino coat-of-arms in the triangular space between canopy and frame. He wears a mail coif with fillet and top-knot and a loose, belted surcoat, embroidered with a band across the chest and falling well below the knees. His mail sleeves fall open at the wrists, disclosing his undergarment, and over the mail he wears an embossed shoulder-plate; a rectangular embossed plate covering the upper arm, and a small disc fastened with a point at the elbow; behind the shoulders can be seen the fringes of a pair of ailettes. His greaves are embossed, and he wears rowel-spurs. From his sword-belt, which is buckled and decorated with metal fittings, hang a sword with trilobed pommel, slender quillons and metal scabbard-fittings, and a 'double volute' dagger.

The kneeling figure on the sarcophagus-front (Pl. XXV, *a*) wears greaves, but has loose mail sleeves with no plate. His armour, though not necessarily of different date, is decidely more old-fashioned than that shown on Loffredo's tomb-slab. The dagger is of an early form, in the shape of a miniature sword.

Loffredo or Goffredo Filomarino, knight, was among the six members of his family (one of the *Aienti* of the *Seggio Capuana*) who joined in the pact of 1298.[50] In 1304 he succeeded Francesco de Loffredo as Justiciar of the Capitanata, holding office for that year,[51] and before 1305 was granted a pension of thirty ounces a year for his services 'fighting in Sicily.'[52] He was Seneschal of the household of Charles of Calabria by November 1310.[53] The closeness of his association with the royal family is implied by the fact that in her will Queen Maria of Hungary left him 'two big wooden chests of nutwood with locks and iron keys.'[54]

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[50] G. N. Bolvito, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[51] De Lellis, iii, 962 (Reg. Ang. 1306 I, fol. 117).

[52] De Lellis, iv, 15 (Reg. Ang. 1299/1300 D, fol. 5).

[53] De Lellis, iii, 16 (Reg. Ang. 1310 H, fol. 207*v*.).

Before August 1307 he had married Ilaria, daughter of Giovanni di Rivello, and Isabella, daughter of Riccardo Filangieri.[55] His daughter Trudella died ummarried. Another daughter, Sichelgaita, married Roberto de Cabannis, son of the upstart 'moorish slave,' Raymond de Cabannis,[56] and was one of the ladies of the Cabannis family introduced by her mother-in-law into Joanna's household in 1336, together with Roberto's daughter, Caterina.[57] In 1345 Sichelgaita was one of those whom the pope blamed for the estrangement between Joanna and Andrew;[58] her husband, who may have been Joanna's lover, was foully executed in 1345.[59]

Of the six members of the family who joined in the pact of 1298, Gregorio, the only one to sign his name, was Loffredo's brother. He served as Justiciar in the Principato and Abruzzi Citeriore,[60] and his daughter married Tomaso Piscicelli.[61] He died in 1324, and his tomb, an incised slab, (Pl. XXI, *b*) is in the same chapel, facing that of Loffredo.

V. Arms and Armour, 1320–1360

The early-fourteenth-century tombs of Naples cover the interesting period of transition from mail to plate. In 1300 knights were still clad in full mail, worn beneath a flowing, belted surcoat, which reached almost down to the ankles. By the middle of the century the cumbrous mail shirt, and with it the surcoat, had risen to above the knees, and substantial additional protection was being worn on both legs and arms—the last phase before the introduction of full plate, as we see it, for example, on the effigy of Olivier Bouchier (*ob.* 1387) in the church of Santa Maria della Incoronata.[62]

The survival of some twenty-five dated military monuments between the years 1320 and 1360 enables us to document this development with considerable precision. There are limitations, of course, to the evidence. There are features which are not or cannot be represented. In the case of Riccardo Piscicelli, for example, we know nothing about the way he protected his head; nor would we know anything of the armour on knee and thigh or of the rowel-spurs were it not for the kneeling figures on the front. Again, we cannot always be sure of the materials represented. Much of this early plate was almost certainly made of heavy, moulded leather, very possibly all of that which is shown on these effigies carved with elaborated scroll-work ornament; but in many cases such detail may have been represented in paint, now vanished, rather than in carving. Despite these limitations, however, the tombs do afford a great deal of detailed information about the development of armour in Naples during this very interesting period; and even when one makes allowances for factors such as personal conservatism, or the commissioning of tombs during the lifetime of the person commemorated, it is clear that progress was not only very rapid but, on the whole, remarkably consistent.

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[54] C. Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio di Codice Diplomatico, Suppl., parte seconda*, Naples, 1883, p. 109.

[55] De Lellis, iii, 904 (Reg. Ang. 1302 G, fol. 281*v.*).

[56] De Lellis, iii, 245 (Reg. Ang. 1335 A, fol. 8).

[57] Léonard, *Jeanne I*, i, 158.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 401.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 587–589.

[60] De Lellis, iii, 1630 and 976 (Reg. Ang. 1299 B, fol. 186*v.*, and 1306 I, fol. 136, among several references).

[61] De Lellis, iii, 464 (Reg. Ang. 1332 C, fol. 247).

[62] S. Bridges, 'A Breton adventurer in Naples,' *ante*, xix, 1951, pp. 154–9.

The tomb of Pietro Barrili (1320) is the earliest surviving member of the series, and it serves very well to illustrate the armour that was very shortly to become obsolete (Pl. XXI, *a*). He may have worn a breastplate, and possibly some additional protection at the knees (a very vulnerable feature of a mounted knight), but otherwise he is clad entirely in mail, including what appear to be mail gauntlets hanging from the wrist.

The principal development of the following decades is the shortening of the heavy, cumbrous, mail shirt and its replacement by independent armour worn over the mail leggings to protect the exposed parts of the legs. During the 'thirties the surcoat (which was just long enough to cover the mail shirt) grew steadily shorter; by the middle 'forties it was just below the knee, and ten years later again the knee itself is exposed. At the same time, from being a loose robe, belted at the waist, the surcoat developed into a beltless garment (the sword-belt was quite independent), fitting tightly over the chest and spreading into a loose, pleated skirt, as we see it on the Barrili tomb (Pl. XXIV).

The earliest dated greaves are those on the tomb of Marino Piscicelli (1327), followed by Riccardo Piscicelli (1331) and by six other dated tombs from the 'thirties. With the exception of Banuccio Dentici (1349) on his tomb-slab in San Domenico Maggiore, and of the figure on the back of the Barrili tomb (1356), both of which must be regarded as, in this respect, curious survivals from an outmoded past, the latest dated instance of mail leggings without greaves (the knees in this case are invisible) is the low-relief effigy of Nicola Caracciolo (1328) in the Cathedral. The form of these early greaves, presumably of embossed leather, was that of an open gaiter, shaped to fit over the front of the leg and ankle and fastened behind by a pair of straps (Pls. XXII, *b*, XXV). The earliest knee-cops may well also have been of shaped leather, and appear (Pl. XXV, *b*) to have extended some way up the thigh. Metal knee-cops with a mail fringe, like those worn by the kneeling figure on the Barrili tomb (1356), appear at least as early as 1347 (tomb of Ludovico Cararolo in San Lorenzo Maggiore). By 1360, on the tomb of Enrico Capece in the Cathedral, the mail fringe had been superseded by a pair of overlapping metal plates, and the way was clear for the fully articulated metal knee-cops of later fourteenth-century practice.

The spur was not usually worn by recumbent figures, but enough examples appear on kneeling figures and on incised and low-relief slabs to show that the transition from prick-spurs to rowel-spurs took place between 1315 and 1335. The latest examples of the former are those worn by the kneeling figure on the tomb of Loffredo Filomarino, 1335 (Pl. XXV, *a*; the effigy on the same tomb, Pl. XXII, *b*, wears rowel-spurs). The earliest rowel-spurs are those worn by Marino Piscicelli, 1327 (Pl. XXV, *b*).

Plate first appears on the arms in the 'thirties, when we find the effigy of Riccardo Piscicelli, 1331 (Pl. XXIII, *a*) already wearing the three distinct elements of which it was normally composedfor several decades thereafter (the kneeling figure on the same tomb, Pl. XXIII, *a*, wears what, if correctly carved, must be regarded as an experimental form, which was early discarded). The three elements are: a small, saucer-shaped or nearly flat metal disc, fastened to the outer side of the elbow by a point (a metal thong, passed through the mail of the sleeve); a large, embossed plate, presumably of leather, covering the upper arm; and a separate plate protecting the shoulder. This last feature was very variable. It might be a small, detached plate, usually a metal disc fastened with a point (e.g. on the effigy of Roberto de Diano, 1354, in Santa Chiara; a variant in the form of a scallop-shell on the de Tocco effigies (1347 and 1360) in the Cathedral); or else it was shaped, probably of leather, and covered the greater part of the shoulder (e.g. Pl. XXII, *b*; exceptionally with scale-ornament, as on the effigy of Drogo de Merloto (1339) in Santa Chiara, or in the shape of a lion-head—anticipating a common later usage—as on the tomb-slab of Tomaso Bulcan (1337) in San Domenico Maggiore). Although the use of all three together was regular practice from the 'thirties onwards, they also appear singly or in a variety of eccentric combinations until well into the 'fifties.

For obvious practical reasons, the addition of plate was accompanied by a tightening of the mail sleeve. It also saw the disappearance of ailettes, the pair of upstanding armorial plates worn at the shoulder on a small group of early effigies, of which the earliest dated example is that of Marino Piscicelli, 1327 (Pl. XXV, *b*) and the latest the recumbent figure of Loffredo Filomarino, 1335 (Pl. XXII, *b*). The function of these ailettes seems to have been identificatory rather than defensive, and it may be that after the middle 'thirties these were no longer felt to be necessary, since it seems to have become regular practice to emblazon one's coat of arms on the chest of the tighter surcoat which was just then coming into fashion.

In common with the effigies of other countries at this date, the Neapolitan effigies illustrate a wide variety of sword-types. The daggers, on the other hand, are remarkably uniform. With the exception of that worn by the kneeling figure of the Filomarino tomb (Pl. XXV, *a*), all belong to one of three very closely related types, which differ only in the form of the hilt. There is the dagger with a very simple, H-shaped hilt, as on the front of the Barrili tomb (Pl. XXIV, *a*). There is a form closely resembling the 'kidney' dagger, with two pairs of bosses symmetrically placed at either end of the hilt; these bosses are often elaborately carved, e.g. on a fine anonymous effigy (*c.* 1330–1335) in the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore. The third type is really a variant of the second, with the bosses carved to form two pairs of symmetrical volutes. Good early examples of this 'double volute' type are those worn by Riccardo Piscicelli, 1331 (Pl. XXIII, *b*) and Loffredo Filomarino, 1335 (Pl. XXII, *b*). The earliest dagger of the whole series, that on the tomb of Nicola Caracciolo (1328) in the Cathedral, is of this third type.

It would be premature to try to draw conclusions of a general character from so brief a survey, beyond the simple and self-evident fact that in costume and armour the third and fourth decades of the fourteenth century were a period of rapid and revolutionary change. Whence the innovations were derived, and to what extent (if at all) they are due to the increasing cultural contacts with central Italy which played so important a part in the art of early-fourteenth-century Naples, and which we find reflected at second hand in these lesser monuments, these are questions that must await further research. The principal purpose of these notes is to draw attention to the wealth of material available for study.

SHIRLEY BRIDGES AND JOHN WARD PERKINS.

UN BENEFICIO DEL PETRARCA

La pievania di S. Angelo a Castiglione Aretino

PAPA CLEMENTE VI fu uno dei patroni del Petrarca più convinti e più generosi. Udienze frequenti e familiari, incarichi onorevoli, permessi di entrare nella biblioteca che dentro la torre degli angeli stava subito al di sopra dell'appartamento pontificio, apportarono rapidamente e largamente onori, potenti amicizie, possibilità entusiasmanti di studio al cappellano laureato del cardinale Giovanni Colonna. Il quale negli scritti di quegli anni, nei *Rerum memorandarum*, in alcune lettere *Familiari*, nelle *Invective contra medicum*, ripete frequentemente gli elogi del pontefice benevolo: che se spiaceva al moralista di Valchiusa per alcune appariscenti debolezze morali,[1] doveva invece attrarlo con la maestà di alto aristocratico e con le affinità di una intelligenza lucida, di una memoria straordinaria, di un'ampia cultura.[2]

Ma particolarmente questo papa, che fu di una prodigalità pericolosa nell'esaudire le suppliche di sollecitatori,[3] fece piovere sul chierico Petrarca una serie di benefici così redditizi, che gli permisero di liberarsi dalla clientela imbarazzante in casa Colonna e lo resero signore intero delle sue giornate e dei suoi luoghi di dimora. Probabilmente (arrischio un calcolo per il quale non abbiamo ancora chiari tutti gli elementi) solo nel felice decennio di papa Clemente (1342–1352) il Petrarca dispose di tanta ricchezza e di tanta potenza, da far crescere la sua biblioteca con aumenti così rapidi e dentro confini così ampi, che essa diventò già allora la raccolta di testi letterari maggiore di qualsiasi altra riunita nel millennio, o quasi, trascorso dopo la fine dell'impero romano.

Il nuovo pontefice fu eletto il 7 maggio 1342, e appena due settimane dopo, il 22 maggio, su raccomandazione del cardinale Colonna, egli nominò il Petrarca, che fino allora sembra avesse posseduto solo il beneficio di un canonicato a Lombez, a un canonicato nella cattedrale di Pisa.[4] Pochi mesi dopo, il 6 ottobre, il papa assegnava al Petrarca anche il ricco priorato di San Nicolò di Migliarino, nella diocesi di Pisa. Ma questo beneficio fu conteso al Petrarca da un altro chierico Lotto del Nicchio, che già vi aveva acquistato dei diritti, e che, comparso subito a Avignone, riuscì a ottenere una sentenza favorevole il 28 febbraio 1343. Il Petrarca ricorse contro questa sentenza.

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[1] Esse sono condannate duramente in *Sine nom.*, VI, VIII, X e in *Buc. C.*, VI e VII (E. H. Wilkins, *Studies in the life and works of Petrarch*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, p. 146).

[2] U. D'Alençon, *Panégyrique inédit de Saint François d'Assise par le pape Clément VI* (1342–1352), Parigi, 1911; G. Mollat, *L'oeuvre oratoire de Clément VI*, 'Archives d'hist. doctr. et litt. du moyen age,' iii, 1928, pp. 239–274; Ph. Schmitz, 'Les sermons et discours de Clément VI, O.S.B.', *Rev. bénéd.*, xli, 1929, pp. 15–34; M. H. Laurent, 'Pierre Roger et Thomas d'Aquin,' *Rev. Thomiste*, xxxvi, 1931, pp. 157–173; P. Fournier, 'Pierre Roger (Clément VI)', in *Hist. littér. de France*, xxxvii, 1928, pp. 209–238; A. Maier, 'Der literarische Nachlass des Petrus Rogerii (Clemens VI) in der Borghesiana,' *Recherches de théol. anc. et méd.*, xv, 1948, pp. 332–358 e xvi, 1949, pp. 72–98, *Der letzte Katalog der päpstliche Bibliothek von Avignon* (1594), Roma, 1952, 8 n. 6, 26 n. 42, 29 no. 38, 35 no. 82, 37 no. 104, 40 no. 134, 44 no. 177, 58 nos. 13, 15 e *Codices Burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Città del Vaticano, 1952, p. 487, s.v. 'Petrus Rogerii.'

[3] G. Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon* (1305–1378), Parigi, 1949, pp. 85–86.

[4] La carriera ecclesiastica del Petrarca è ormai descritta ottimamente da E. H. Wilkins nel capitolo 'Petrarch's ecclesiastical career,' nel suo vol. *Studies*, pp. 3–32 (= *Speculum*, xviii, 1953, pp. 754–775). Per il canonicato di Pisa cfr. lì, pagg. 8–9 e 132–33.

Insieme il nuovo papa indirizzava i suoi favori anche al fratello del Petrarca, Gherardo, nominandolo il 13 marzo 1343, *motu proprio*, scrittore nella Penitenzieria. Ma questa concessione era resa inutile dalla conversione fulminea che poche settimane dopo faceva entrare Gherardo nella certosa di Montrieux.[5]

Bisogna ora aggiungere che Clemente VI concesse poco dopo al Petrarca, il 24 agosto, di nuovo *motu proprio*, il beneficio della pieve di Castiglione Aretino (l'attuale Castiglione Fiorentino)[6]. Il Petrarca doveva essere rimasto a vigilare presso la curia la conquista di questo nuovo beneficio. Perchè solo appena ottenuta la lettera papale di concessione egli si mosse, nel settembre, per il lungo viaggio verso Napoli, dove andava inviato presso la regina Giovanna dal cardinale Colonna e dal Pontefice.[7]

Un canonicato a Pisa, il priorato di San Nicolò di Migliarino presso Pisa, la pievania a Castiglione Aretino: ricomposto questo triangolo si svelano i propositi e la strategia del Petrarca verso la metà della vita (1342–1343). Conquistato ormai il riconoscimento pubblico alla sua professione insigne di antiquario, di moralista e di poeta con gli esami passati a Napoli davanti a re Roberto e con la conseguente laurea in Campidoglio (aprile 1341), e dopo aver goduto un libero soggiorno in Italia sotto il patrocinio di un signore amico, Azzo da Correggio (Parma-Selvapiana: maggio 1341-inizio 1342), egli ha deciso di ottenere una vita indipendente, nutrita da benefici ecclesiastici, e di formarsi una dimora in Italia. Evidentemente ricercando tra il 1342 e il 1343 dei benefici tra Pisa e Arezzo egli intendeva di prepararsi una dimora nel paese che poteva essere accettato più facilmente come patria dal figlio dell'esule fiorentino, nato a Arezzo e vissuto bambino a Pisa. Come si sarebbe svolta diversa la storia dell'umanesimo italiano e europeo, e anche della poesia in volgare italiano, se il Petrarca, canonico pisano, avesse trasportato a Pisa nel 1344 il tesoro filologico della sua biblioteca e lì avesse istituito la sede centrale della sua accademia rinnovatrice!

Ma mentre il Petrarca si affrettava a risalire da Napoli a Avignone, lo colse a Parma, alla fine del 1343, l'annuncio che nella curia papale era stata confermata in seconda istanza, l'8 novembre, la sentenza a lui contraria nella causa per il priorato di San Nicolò di Migliarino. E allora, deluso e infastidito, rinunciò a ritornare a Avignone e restò a Parma presso il suo Azzo: respingendo, con la *Metrica* III xxvii, gli inviti a un pronto ritorno presso il cardinale e la curia che da Avignone gli inviava il suo Socrate.[8]

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[5] C. Cipolla, 'Note petrarchesche desunte dal l'Archivio Vaticano,' *Memorie d. R. Acc. d. sc. di Torino, Cl. di sc. mor.*, Ser. ii, lix, 1909, pp. 1–32; A. Foresti, *Aneddoti della vita di Francesco Petrarca*, Brescia, 1928, p. 101.

[6] Finora la notizia di questo beneficio del Petrarca trapelò appena. Un vecchio erudito seppe dire: 'Detulit et idem ille Pontifex (= Clemens VI) Curam S. Angeli de Castiglione Aretinae Diocesis' (I. Ph. Tomasini, *Petrarcha redivivus*, Padova, 1650, p. 75). E un erudito recente annunciò: 'Ma è rimasto finora ignoto, per quanto io so, agli studiosi del Petrarca un altro beneficio concessogli da Clemente VI il 24 agosto del 1343, per compensarlo appunto del priorato di S. Nicolò di Migliarino 'pro quo adhuc litigat necdum eius possessionem nescitur assecutus.' E' la plebania di S. Angelo di Castiglione Aretino, oggi Castiglione Fiorentino. Pubblicherò il documento in altra circostanza' (P. Fedele nel *Giorn. stor. d. lett. it.*, lxiv, 1914, p. 397, n. 4). Il Fedele non stampò più il documento: che evidentemente era diverso da quello che qui pubblico. Avevo annunciato la pubblicazione che ora effettuo (ma allora pensavo fosse parte di un disegno più vasto) in *Petrarca letterato*, i, *Lo scrittoio del Petrarca*, Roma, 1947, p. 274 (e p. xiii). Vedi anche Wilkins, *Studies*, pp. 10–11 e 145. Mi affretto a indicare, sebbene per ora non ne emerga alcuna conseguenza che era da Castiglione Aretino maestro Giacomo Finucci (o di Finuccio) che possedette il *Fedone lacino* Parigino Lat. 6567 A (copiato dall'esemplare della Sorbona Par. Lat. 16581) che poi venne in possesso del Petrarca (L. Minio-Paluello, 'Il Fedone latino con note autografe del Petrarca: Parigi, Bibl. Naz., Cod. lat. 6567 A,' *Acc. Naz. d. Lincei*, *Rend. d. Cl. di sc. mor., stor. e filol.*, Ser. viii, iv, 1949, pp. 107–113; *Plato Latinus*, ii, *Phaedo interprete Henrico Aristippo*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello, Londra, 1950, p. xii).

[7] E. G. Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, Monaco-Parigi, 1932, i, 311–323; Wilkins, *Studies*, p. 11.

Tornò a Avignone due anni dopo, nell'estate del 1345: caduta la signoria di Azzo a Parma; ancora risoluto a attuare il vecchio programma, ma indirizzandolo verso l'Italia padana, dove ormai aveva trovato protettori e amici. Infatti allora ottenne rapidamente dalla liberalità di Clemente VI un canonicato e l'arcidiaconato a Parma (1346–1348); e, per l'affettuosa mediazione del suo vecchio amico a Avignone, il vescovo di Padova Ildebrandino Conti, un canonicato a Padova (1349).[9] Fallirono poi, per il mancato consenso finale del Petrarca, i due generosi tentativi del Boccaccio di condurre il Petrarca a Firenze: prima come professore dello Studio (1351), poi come canonico della cattedrale (1365).[10] E così, perchè il Petrarca vi si mantenne nella seconda parte della sua vita e vi lasciò poi le grandi eredità, gli originali delle sue opere e la sua biblioteca, la valle del Po diventò, dal Trecento al Cinquecento, la base più forte del 'petrarchismo': per la cultura latina e per la poesia in volgare.

GIUSEPPE BILLANOVICH.

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[8] Sulla lunga lite per il priorato di S. Nicolò di Migliarino: J. F. P. A. de Sade, *Mémoires pour la vie de François Pétrarque*, Amsterdam, 1764, ii, *Pièces justif.*, no. xxi, p. 54; P. Paganini, 'Delle relazioni di messer Francesco Petrarca con Pisa,' *Atti d. R. Acc. Lucchese di sc., lett. ed arti*, xxi, 1882, pp. 149–214; Cipolla, 'F. Petrarca canonico di Pisa nel 1342,' *Atti d. R. Acc. d. Sc. di Torino*, xli, 1905–1906, pp. 175–180; A. Della Torre, 'Un nuovo documento su un beneficio toscano del Petrarca (il priorato di Migliarino),' *Arch. stor. it.*, Ser. v, xlii, 1908, pp. 119–136; L. Mascetta-Caracci, *Dante e il Dedalo petrarchesco*, Lanciano, 1910, pp. 126–140; Foresti, *Aneddoti*, pp. 142–143 e 147–151; M. Dykmans, 'Les premiers rapports de Pétrarque avec les Pays-Bas,' *Bulletin de l' Institut historique belge de Rome*, xx, 1939, pp. 71–73; Wilkins, *Studies*, pp. 9–10.

[9] Wilkins, *Studies*, pp. 12–13 e 18–23. La figura attraente di Ildebrandino Conti è stata scoperta e illuminata da P. Sambin, dal quale attendiamo ormai una biografia compiuta: 'Ildebrandino Conti e l'introduzione dei monaci olivetani a Padova,' *Benedictina*, iii, 1949, pp. 249–277; 'La "familia" di un vescovo italiano del Trecento,' *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, iv, 1950, pp. 237–247; 'Note sull'attività politico-diplomatica di Ildebrandino Conti amico del Petrarca,' *Archivio Veneto*, xlvi–xlvii, 1950, pp. 3–31; 'Notizie di cronaca tra i rogiti di un notaio padovano del sec. XIV,' *Atti d. Ist. Veneto di sc., lett. ed arti*, cx, 1951–1952, Cl. di sc. mor. e lett., pp. 91–111; 'Un amico del Petrarca, Ildebrandino Conti e la sua attività spirituale e culturale,' *Deput. di st. patria per le Venezie, Miscellanea di studi e memorie*, viii, 1952.

[10] Ho pubblicato il documento papale per il canonicato di Firenze in *Restauri boccacceschi*, Roma 1947^2, pp. 171–173. Cfr. Wilkins, *Studies*, pp. 27–28.

Venerabili fratri episcopo Clusinensi et dilectis filiis abbati monasterii de Podiobonzi Florentine diocesis ac . . . archidiacono Lomberiensi salutem etc.

Merita probitatis, super quibus dilectus filius Franciscus Petracchus, prior secularis ecclesie Sancti Nicolay de Miliarino Pisane diocesis, apud nos fidedigno commendatur testimonio, nos inducunt ut sibi reddamur in exhibitione gratie liberales. Cum itaque, sicut accepimus, plebania ecclesie Sancti Angeli de Castillione Aretino Aretine diocesis, cui cura imminet animarum, tanto tempore vacaverit et vacet ad presens, quod ipsius collatio est ad nos et sedem apostolicam iuxta statuta Lateranensis consilii legitime devoluta, nos volentes dictum Franciscum premissorum meritorum intuitu favore prosequi gratioso, discretionis nostre motu proprio, non ad ipsius Francisci vel alterius pro eo nobis oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate, per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus vos, vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios, si dicta plebania, ut premittitur, vacat et non sit in ea tempore datarum presentium alicui specialiter ius quesitum, eandem plebaniam, etiam si ecclesia ipsa collegiata existat, sive per liberam resignationem Petri Bindi, ultimi eiusdem plebanie plebani, de ea apud prefatam sedem factam, vel alias qualitercumque vacet et ipsius collatio ad nos tantum spectet, eidem Francisco cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis auctoritate apostolica conferre et assignare curetis, inducentes dictum Franciscum vel

procuratorem suum eius nomine in corporalem possessionem plebanie ac iurium et pertinentiarum predictorum et deffendentes inductum, amoto exinde quolibet illicito detentore, ac facientes sibi de ipsius plebanie fructibus, redditibus, proventibus, iuribus et obventionibus universis integre responderi, contradictores auctoritate nostra, appellatione postposita, compescendo. Non obstantibus si aliqui super provisionibus sibi faciendis de huiusmodi plebaniis aut aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis in illis partibus speciales vel generales dicte sedis aut legatorum eius litteras impetraverint, etiam si per eas ad inhibitionem, reservationem et decretum vel alias quomodolibet sit processum; quibus omnibus dictum Franciscum in ipsius plebanie assecutione volumus anteferri, sed nullum per hoc eis quo ad assecutionem plebaniarum et beneficiorum aliorum preiudicium generari. Seu si venerabili fratri nostro episcopo Aretino vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim a prefata sit sede indultum quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicuius minime teneantur et ad id compelli aut quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint quodque de huiusmodi plebaniis vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis ad eorum collationem, provisionem, seu quamvis aliam dispositionem coniunctim vel separatim spectantibus, nulli valeat provideri per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, et qualibet alia dicte sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali, cuiuscumque tenoris existat, per quam, presentibus non expressam vel totaliter non insertam, effectus huiusmodi gratie impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri et de qua cuiusquam toto tenore habenda sit in nostris litteris mentio specialis. Seu quod idem Franciscus de prioratu predicto, cui cura non imminet animarum, sibi litterarum nostrarum auctoritate collato litigat, nec est adhuc ipsius possessionem adeptus. Et insuper cum eodem Francisco, ut dictam plebaniam libere recipere et una cum dicto prioratu, si ipsum evincere contingat, eandem licite retinere valeat, generalis consilii et quacumque constitutione contraria nequaquam obstantibus, auctoritate eadem dispensetis. Nos enim irritum decrevimus et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari.

Datum apud Villanovam Avinionensis diocesis VIIII Kalendas Septembris anno secundo.

1–44. Archivio Vaticano, *Reg. Aven.*, 71, fol. 153r.-v. Al di sopra del testo è segnato un *X*: la solita indicazione della tassa per la bolla.

1. *Podioboinzi* nel registro.

2. *Ac . . .* Qui, come in molti altri luoghi, i puntini tengono nel registro il luogo del nome proprio.

6. *Plebaniam* nel registro.

9. *Discretioni* nel registro.

40. *Evinceret* per comprensibile errore nel registro —*Eundem* nel registro.

JEANNE Ière DE NAPLES ET ROME

Pour avoir passé de longues années de ma jeunesse à travailler à Rome, dans les Archives Vaticanes, sur l'histoire de la reine Jeanne de Naples, il me vient naturellement, à l'âge où l'on regroupe, en une unité toute personnelle, les divers centres d'intérêt d'une vie de recherches, la curiosité d'établir avec plus de précision que dans un exposé général, d'ailleurs encore inachevé, quels furent les rapports entre 'ma' reine et 'notre' Ville. Peut-être quelques traits du caractère de la souveraine et quelques problèmes de ses dernières années en seront-ils éclairés.

Rome avait tenu une place assez considérable dans la vie des premiers Angevins. Charles Ier en avait été élu sénateur (1264) avant son arrivée en Italie et avait été reçu, au mois de juin 1265, dans la Ville Eternelle par une foule chargée de palmes et dansante, mais fort déçue de n'être pas arrosée, en retour, de piécettes de monnaie. On sait qu'il y fut couronné roi de Sicile, y fut rejoint par son armée franço-provençale et en repartit le 20 janvier 1266 pour la conquête du Royaume, qu'il y avait organisée. Sa statue, au Musée du Capitole, illustre l'important aspect romain de sa carrière. Cet aspect est aussi notable dans le règne de son petit-fils, le roi Robert. Ce sont les troupes angevines qui, en mai-juin 1312, empêcherent l'empereur Henri VII d'arriver à Saint-Pierre pour s'y faire couronner. Robert fut appelé en conséquence (1313) à une longue sénatorerie romaine, dont sa lutte avec Louis de Bavière fut l'un des épisodes. On ne saurait oublier que Pétrarque eût voulu recevoir de lui le laurier des poètes au Capitole.

Sa petite-fille n'était ni chef de guerre ni bel esprit. La Rome du milieu du XIVe siècle ne pouvait présenter pour elle, du fait de l'absence du pape, que l'attrait de son passé chrétien. On ne voit pas qu'elle y ait été particulièrement sensible. Lorsque sa belle-mère, Elisabeth de Hongrie, après un séjour à Naples sans doute assez houleux, en partit (septembre 1343) pour aller prier sur le tombeau des Apôtres, Jeanne ne l'accompagna pas.

Il fallut Cola di Rienzo, et l'expédition de Louis de Hongrie contre Naples, pour que le gouvernement de Jeanne s'occupât de Rome. Dès les premières semaines de son tribunat,[1] Cola di Rienzo vit venir à lui des ambassadeurs de Naples, mais aussi d'Aquila occupée par les avant-gardes du souverain magyar. Il y riposta par l'envoi d'émissaires, qui, à l'en croire, obtinrent du commandant des forces hongroises un armistice pour des transactions que ses représentants devaient conduire, d'autre part, à Naples. La lutte qu'il soutint contre les Caetani, et en particulier contre le comte de Fondi, le principal des partisans 'régnicoles' de Louis de Hongrie, pouvait faire espérer à la reine qu'elle aurait en lui un ami : les expressions qu'il employait lui-même au sujet de Nicola Caetani, 'ennemi de la Sainte Eglise Romaine, de Madame la reine Jeanne et notre ennemi,' montrent qu'il se donnait alors auprès des Italiens (il écrivait aux Florentins) figure d'allié, sinon de défenseur de la souveraine. Elle lui adressa donc, dans la première quinzaine d'août 1347, une nouvelle ambassade pour lui demander une alliance en forme et, paraît-il, pour mettre à sa disposition mille 'barbues' sur l'armée qu'elle avait à Aquila. Mais ses députés avaient été devancés à Rome par ceux qu'y avait envoyés le roi de Hongrie et qui y étaient arrivés le 4 août au milieu des fêtes de l'adoubement du tribun. Les émissaires hongrois avaient, eux aussi, offert à Cola un fort contingent (le corps d'occupation d'Aquila) et lui avaient demandé l'autorisation de lever mille cavaliers dans la campagne romaine. Toujours à en croire le tribun, inclinant plutôt pour le parti contraire, il avait repoussé ces propositions. En fait, il laissa plusieurs membres de la noblesse romaine s'engager au service du roi de Hongrie et, probablement, les y poussa.

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[1] Nous utilisons ici notre *Histoire de Jeanne Ière* (Monaco et Paris, 1932–37, 3 vol.), i, 699.

Clément VI invitait, de son côté, son légat en Italie, Bertrand de Deux, à 'conclure une alliance entre la reine de Sicile et nos chers fils le peuple romain et Cola di Rienzo, qui se donne le titre de tribun. Par ce moyen, on enlèverait au roi de Hongrie les nobles de Rome qui se sont offerts spontanément à le servir et on les attirerait au service de la reine.' Mais le pape se défiait des dispositions du soi-disant tribun, 'dont les actes ne concordent pas avec les déclarations.' La cour de Naples était moins perspicace : elle croyait acquérir l'appui de Cola en flattant, par quelques cadeaux, la vanité de sa femme. Sur la fin du mois de septembre en effet, de nouveaux ambassadeurs hongrois vinrent demander au tribun la punition des assassins du frère de leur maître, le malheureux André, premier mari de Jeanne, une alliance perpétuelle et la permission, pour les troupes magyares, d'entrer en Italie. Cola di Rienzo prétendit bien, dans une lettre au pape, qu'il avait répondu par l'offre d'un arbitrage reposant sur une justice impartiale : en fait, il s'était allié au Hongrois, qu'il aurait aidé à conquérir le royaume de Sicile, en recevant pour lui la Provence, première possession de la Rome antique hors de l'Italie.[2] Ses ambassadeurs allèrent demander en son nom à Pérouse, à Sienne, à Florence et aux autres Etats de l'Italie centrale et septentrionale de laisser passer les troupes de Louis Ier et de suivre l'exemple qu'il avait donné lui-même en acceptant ce prince dans l'alliance du peuple romain.[3] Aussi Clément VI exhortait-il son légat á rompre nettement avec lui et dénonçait-il Cola au peuple romain.

Bertrand de Deux réalisa à la perfection ces instructions, en provoquant l'émeute romaine qui, le 15 décembre 1347, renversa facilement le tribun. Mais il s'était servi pour cela d'un seigneur napolitain, le comte de Minervino Giovanni Pipino. J'ai indiqué ailleurs[4] que celui-ci agit certainement comme mandataire de sa souveraine et non, ainsi qu'on le disait le plus souvent, comme partisan d'un roi de Hongrie dont cette journée fut, au contraire, le seul échec au cours d'une promenade triomphale à travers la Péninsule. C'est d'ailleurs bien au royaume de Naples que Cola en garda rancune : résidant à Prague en août 1350, il offrait à l'archevêque de le conquérir pour l'empereur. Un peu plus tard au contraire, redevenu temporairement tribun de Rome, il y accueillit avec de grands honneurs le roi de Hongrie, qui, ayant quitté l'Italie méridionale après sa seconde expédition, était allé visiter le tombeau des Apôtres et profiter des indulgences jubilaires.

Ce que l'on peut appeler le règne de Nicola Acciaiuoli, c'est-à-dire les années 1350–1364 où le royaume de Naples fut effectivement gouverné par ce grand ministre de

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[2] Léonard, i, 701–702.

[3] Léonard, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Op. cit.*, ii, 12.

Jeanne Ière, est particulièrement pauvre en ce qui concerne les rapports avec Rome. Je ne trouve à y relever qu'une nomination d'Acciaiuoli comme sénateur de Rome, en 1360 : elle n'eut point, semble-t-il, de réalisation effective.[5] Ajoutons-y, si l'on veut, la mention, conservée sans date[6] dans une copie moderne d'un registre du chancelier royal Nicola d'Alife, d'une ambassade envoyée à Jeanne et à son second mari Louis de Tarente par le sénat de Rome. Composée d'un chanoine de Naples, Nicola di Giovan Riccardo, et de trois autres personnages, Angelo de Tuchi di Berta, Antonio di Cola Maceria et Nuccio Pardo, elle avait comme but de renouveler l'expression de l'amitié traditionnelle que Rome aurait portée à la maison de Naples. La réponse des souverains est aussi peu intéressante, bien que Nicola d'Alife ait tenu à la faire copier parmi les beaux morceaux dont il était particulèrement fier : elle évoque l' 'ancienne énergie du Sénat,' ses constantes victoires, sa résistance impavide à toutes les attaques, toutes choses que, précisément, Cola di Rienzo avait dites avec plus de force et de conviction.

Rome ne reparait dans les préoccupations du gouvernement napolitain qu'avec la décision que prit Urbain V d'y rentrer. Une lettre qu'il écrivit, le 1er octobre 1365, à Jeanne Ière la remercie de s'être mise à la disposition du Saint-Siège pour en faciliter le retour en Italie et lui confirme le propos qu'il a d'y revenir lorsque le temps sera propice. Il répondait ainsi à un, ou plutôt, semble-t-il, à deux messages de la reine, dont le registre de Nicola d'Alife nous a conservé des fragments.[7] Ils faisaient entendre au Pontife 'les soupirs incessants' que 'l'Italie tout entière adresse à votre personne de successeur de Pierre et de vicaire du Christ,' la montraient gémissante, le corps déchiré et les cheveux épars, et exhortaient Urbain V à regagner la Péninsule. Jeanne offrait au pape pour cela le concours de dix galères : 'Je ne me plains que d'une chose, écrivait-elle, qu'il n'ait pas plu au Créateur de faire de moi un homme, car, si mon sexe me le permettait, voyant arriver mon seigneur, je me ceindrais et, comme un autre Pierre, je me hâterais à pied sec au-devant de lui, dans la confiance de la foi.' Déclarations de bonne Italienne, de bonne catholique, de bonne vassale—et aussi de bonne reine de Naples, soucieuse de voir se rapprocher d'elle, en un moment où la situation de l'Italie était particulièrement difficile, le pontife dont l'alliance avait été la grande règle de sa politique internationale. Mais l'Italie, ce n'est pas seulement Rome. Un des fragments de cette correspondance insistait bien sur l'état pitoyable de la Ville : 'Un titre d' honneur suprême la proclame la tête du monde, et pourtant une si longue absence de son seigneur et de son époux l'a plongée dans des jours d'angoisse et dans des années de douloureuses méditations constamment reprises.' Mais si Jeanne désirait le retour de la papauté en Italie, elle ne tenait pas particulièrement à sa réinstallation à Rome, qu'elle savait d'ailleurs difficile. Et c'était pour sa propre capitale qu'elle plaidait :

> Très Saint Père et très Clément Seigneur, Nous apprenons par diverses communications, et notamment par des lettres, que Votre Béatitude parait envisager sa venue en Italie et même, d'après certains, dans notre royaume, et

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[5] *Op. cit.*, ii, 390, 673.

[6] Camera, qui signale cette ambassade et donne un fragment de la réponse royale dans ses *Elucubrazioni . . . su Giovanna Ia* (Salerne, 1889), p. 223, les date de 1354.

[7] Le texte donné par Camera, p. 262, bloque deux fragments empruntés aux folios 17*v* et 103*v* de la copie du registre de Nicola d'Alife.

> dans cette cité de Naples. Je supplie Dieu que sa miséricorde daigne m'accorder que j'aie mérité de la voir avant le terme qu'il a fixé à mes jours . . . . Notre cité de Naples est particulièrement propre à être le lieu de votre séjour. En effet, bien que le Siège Apostolique préside, pour ce qui est de l'autorité divine, à tous les royaumes de l'univers, il exerce, pour ce qui est de la domination terrestre, une prééminence particulière dans ce royaume.

Le Pontife était, en conséquence, supplié de 'se transporter dans sa cité pour visiter son peuple.' Et Jeanne se représentait prise par 'un désir d'une si extrême ardeur' de voir se réaliser cette perspective qu'elle ne pouvait rien en dire de plus, 'sa langue se collant à son palais' de la soif qu'elle en avait. Un Urbain V résidant au Château-Neuf : il y avait bien un précédent, celui de Célestin V, saint Pierre de Morrone. Mais on comprend que la lettre royale n'y fît pas allusion.

C'est, plus normalement, à Rome que Urbain V, débarqué en Italie le 3 juin 1367, finit par réinstaller le Saint-Siège (16 octobre). Et c'est là que Jeanne alla se prosterner devant lui, le 17 mars suivant. Son séjour fut marqué, au milieu de grandes fêtes, par la remise de la Rose d'or, dont Urbain V l'honora, comme Clément VI l'avait fait, vingt ans auparavant, pour son second mari, Louis de Tarente. Le nouveau chancelier du royaume, Niccola Spinelli da Giovinazzo, principal ouvrier et instrument de l'alliance pontifico-napolitaine,[8] fut adoubé chevalier, avec un cérémonial exceptionnel : l'épée, déposée sur l'autel de saint Pierre, fut bénie par le pape et passée par lui à la souveraine, qui la fit ceindre à Nicola par le roi de Chypre, alors présent en cour de Rome.

Toutes ces cérémonies n'étaient pas un vain rituel. Elles illustraient le plein accord de la cour angevine et du Saint-Siège, accord dont témoignent aussi les lettres pontificales. Mais elles n'avaient rien de particulièrement romain, et l'on ne voit point que, en dehors d'elles et des entretiens que Jeanne put avoir avec le pape et à la Curie, son séjour dans la Ville Eternelle (le seul qui nous soit signalé pour toute sa vie) l'ait particulièrement émue. Petite-fille d'un roi Robert volontiers antipontifical, elle était, elle, au moins dans cette fin de son règne, sincèrement et fidèlement dévouée à la papauté. Mais cela ne faisait pas d'elle, spirituellement, une 'romaine.' La Ville Eternelle avait tenu fort peu de place dans sa vie ; le seul contact un peu important que Jeanne ait eu avec elle, au temps de Cola di Rienzo, ne pouvait lui avoir laissé que de mauvais souvenirs. Comme pour la plupart des Napolitains, et encore aujourd'hui, Rome était pour elle l'étranger, beaucoup plus que le reste de l'Italie, car sa faible diplomatie avait eu, tout de même, des relations avec le Piémont, la Toscane ou la Sicile et même des ambitions à leur sujet.

D'avoir constaté la presque inexistence des rapports entre Jeanne Ière et Rome et de connaître l'indifférence des modernes descendants de ses sujets à l'égard d'une ville au sujet de laquelle la terre entière répète le *Tutto ciò che al mondo è civile è romano ancora* du poète permet de mieux comprendre l'attitude de la vieille reine de Naples dans les débuts du Grand Schisme.[9] Très certainement dévouée au Saint-Siège (c'est-à-dire à l'ensemble pape-corps cardinalice, et non pas à un pontife séparé du Sacré-Collège), désireuse d'avoir la papauté près d'elle en Italie, si possible même à Naples, elle n'avait nullement la mystique du 'pape à Rome' ni du 'pape de Rome.' Les clameurs des Romains, lors de la première élection, 'Romano lo vogliamo,' ne pouvaient lui paraître qu'intervention illégitime, lui rappelant ce qu'elle savait de l'élection tumultuaire, par des Romains braillards et avides, du pape de Louis de Bavière. La nomination d'Urbain VI ne put que lui agréer : ce régnicole archevêque de Bari accepterait sans doute assez facilement, une fois constatés les tumultes romains, d'aller s'installer à Naples. Lorsque le Sacré-Collège l'eut persuadée que Barthélemy Prignano avait été mal élu (et comment en douter devant les affirmations des électeurs ?), elle essaya de réaliser, avec Clément VII, cette 'papauté de Naples' qui était un des rêves de sa famille. Et cette triste histoire, où l'on montre ordinairement une reine Jeanne 'francaise' victime d'un attachement qu'elle n'eut jamais pour la patrie d'origine de sa famille, nous paraît être essentiellement celle d'une *riggina Giuva*' aussi profondément napolitaine que ses sujets qui, n'ayant pas à se soucier, eux, du Sacré-Collège, pouvaient ne voir en Urbain VI que le pape de Naples.

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[8] Son histoire a été ecrite par G. Romano, 'Niccoló Spinelli da Giovinazzo,' *Arch. stor. prov. nap.*, xxiv–xxvi (1901).

[9] Je m'en suis expliqué dans mes *Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1955), pp. 453–459.

EMILE G. LÉONARD

FLORENTINE FAMILIES AND FLORENTINE DIARIES IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

'In the name of God, amen. The notebook of Guido Filippi dell'Antella, in which he will set down certain memorials (*ricordanze*), beginning on the Kalends of March, in the year Mcclxxxxviii.' These words form the perfunctory but typical heading of one of the first in a long and miscellaneous series of private memoirs which survive in such numbers from so many different families as to make it probable they were kept by every man of business or distinction in later medieval Florence.[1] Every variety of information is contained in them, from business accounts and details of estate management to records of taxation, births, marriages and deaths, family feuds, and the dry record in certain instances of successful vendetta.[2] Not all were simply domestic chronicles: the history of Florence, even at its most democratic, remains in large measure the history of its principal families, whose diaries therefore may be purely political. Even so, business and financial memoranda are normally present if not predominant in *ricordanze*, and for this reason they may represent the earliest and most simple type of book-keeping.[3]

The diary of Guido dell'Antella, merchant banker,[4] like many records of the class, consists of bare and laconic annals concerning his marriage, the birth and death of his children, legitimate and illegitimate, and the main phases of his business career and partnerships at home and abroad. During the conflict of Bianchi and Neri, Guido came under the suspicion of 'Ghibelline' sympathies and went into exile,[5] but of this the diary tells nothing.[6] Indeed the only activity illustrated there in any detail is the traffic in land pursued by Guido and others of his family, which consisted in part of purely credit transactions,[7] but also it is clear of more purposeful acquisitions of town and country property, accompanied by expenses on improvements.[8] Something at least of this landed estate survived both Guido's exile and the Antellesi bankruptcy in 1342, and the later fourteenth century memoirs of the family, by this time much more detailed, relate exclusively to estate management and domestic economy. Judged from the *ricordanze* this would seem a case of conversion, perhaps uncomfortably abrupt, from international commerce to local landownership.[9]

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[1] Cf. R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte v. Florenz*, iii, 149. A. Sapori, *Una Compagnia di Calimala* (Florence, 1932), p. 35 n.

[2] Thus the well-known account in the fragmentary *ricordanze* of Luca di Totto da Panzano (1348): 'Memoria, che io andai a Prato per uccidere Carlo di Baldovinetto Gherardini,' etc., *Giornale storico degli archivi toscani*, v, 1861, p. 62 seq.

[3] G. Corsani, *I fondaci e i banchi di un mercante pratese del Trecento* (Prato, 1922), p. 58. The *ricordanze* preserved in ecclesiastical archives seem to be exclusively account-books.

[4] Printed by F. Polidori in *A*(*rchivio*) *S*(*torico*) *I*(*taliano*), iv, 1843, p. 5 seq., and A. Castellani, *Nuovi testi fiorentini del Dugento* (Florence, 1952), p. 804 seq. Only the first gives incompletely the later fourteenth century *ricordi*.

[5] Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, iii, 348, 414–415; iv, 2, 310. However, most of the Antellesi were orthodox Guelf: *ibid.*, iii, 277, 401; Ildefonso di S. Luigi, *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, xi, 133.

[6] The only political allusion is the statement that in 1301 Guido broke away from the company of Gio. dei Cerchi 'per la brigha ove venono cho' Donati e co' Pazi': Polidori, p. 7, Castellani, p. 805. In 1304 he was still a partner of the Cerchi Bianchi: Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, iii, 212 n.1.

[7] Polidori, p. 12; Castellani, p. 812.

[8] Polidori, p. 10, Castellani, p. 808 (a. 1297).

The diaries of another merchant-banking family, the Cerchi, suggest a similar development. The Cerchi had fallen from greater wealth and power than were ever reached by the Dell'Antella, when one branch (the Cerchi Neri) was exiled in 1302, and the other (the Cerchi Bianchi or 'del Garbo') suffered bankruptcy (1310–1311). The earliest memoirs of the family, from the period of their greatness, comprise only a few business letters, some accounts, and a group of garbled extracts of a later date. The accounts are notable for containing nothing but details of rents, crops, and works undertaken in the country, and the only hint of commercial enterprise is the brief but regular reference to the *fondacho* (business premises) of the family.[10] In the later fourteenth century opens a fresh series of domestic records with the *ricordanze* of Michele de' Cerchi and his brothers of the Cerchi 'del Garbo.'[11] Michele's diaries prove that the Cerchi had by then achieved some measure of political and economic rehabilitation. In 1363 they were declared *popolani*,[12] and even before were re-acquiring urban and rural property.[13] The *ricordanze* are merely household records concerning agricultural affairs, the lease of shops in Florence, and the payment of *prestanze* to the government; trading ventures or investments are nowhere mentioned. From these diaries the Cerchi now appear a family of unambitious *rentiers*, sometimes forced to borrow money,[14] even to pawn jewellery.[15] By status and marriage they are secure within the ruling class,[16] and exposed to its feuds and jealousies,[17] but of their former eminence barely a memory remained.[18]

More fortunate were the Sassetti, yet another Calimala family. Like the

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[9] Polidori, p. 15 seq. The Dell'Antella are not listed among the major Florentine business firms in 1369, but no more are families like the Sassetti or Morelli, certainly engaged in trade: S. L. Peruzzi, *Storia del commercio e dei banchieri di Firenze*, i (Florence, 1868), p. 219 seq. Government stock the Dell'Antella will certainly have had, and in November 1378 Alessandro dell'Antella was one of the commission recommending that payments of interest from the *Monte* should be retained in their established form: N. Rodolico, *La democrazia fiorentina nel suo tramonto* (Bologna, 1905), p. 275.

[10] Letters and accounts of m. Consiglio dei Cerchi in Castellani, pp. 593–621. Some of the works and renders in kind may be part repayments of loans. See also F. Maggini, 'Frammenti d'una cronaca dei Cerchi,' *ASI*, lxxvi (1918); Davidsohn, *Forschungen z. Geschichte v. Florenz*, iv, 175.

[11] *A*(*rchivio di*) *S*(*tato*), *F*(*irenze*), *Dono Canigiani-Cerchi*, 309–311 (1343 seq.).

[12] At the cost of 800 florins: *ibid.*, 310, fol. 12*r*. One of the Cerchi had chosen to become *popolano* already in 1361, changing his name and arms: Ildefonso, *Delizie*, xiv, 256.

[13] *Dono Canigiani-Cerchi*, 310, ff. 5*r* seq. Cf. G. Villani, *Cronica*, xii, 8, 18. Among the properties illustrated were farms at Rovezzano, S. Martino a Cuona, and in the Val di Sieve, where the Cerchi are known formerly to have held: *ibid.*, 309, fos. 44*r*, 32*v*, 25*r*, 23*v*, 22*v*, 7*r*; 310, f. 32*r*; 311, fos. 3*r* seq. etc. For their earlier estates there see Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, ed. Rodolico, *RR.II.SS.*, new ed., xxx, pt. i, rub. 221, 228; Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, iii, 332–333; *Forschungen*, iii, 315; Castellani, pp. 605, 607, 608, etc.

[14] In 1391, 1393 and 1395 Michele had to borrow money to pay *prestanze* and sell government stock (at 30 per cent. of face value) to make repayment: *Dono Canigiani-Cerchi*, 311, fos. 38*r*, 70*r*–71*r*, 72*r*, 73*v*, 74, 75*r*. He also sold his farm at Rovezzano to a tenant in 1390: *ibid.*, 309, f. 22*v*.

[15] In 1373 and 1378 Michele pawned a 'frenolla di perle,' but such practices are no safe measure of economic condition (cf. R. de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in medieval Bruges*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, p. 118 seq.), and indeed Michele redeemed the pearls and also loaned money himself: *ibid.*, 310, fos. 23*v*, 25*v*. Mention should be made of Minestra de' Cerchi, who 'seemed always to be in debt' and had to be tricked by the bailiffs into payment: F. Sachetti, *Novelle*, ccix.

[16] Michele's sisters married Agnolo Bonciani and Fr. di Ribaldo de'Bardi (*Dono Canigiani-Cerchi* 309, f. 33*r*; 310, f. 24*r*) and other Cerchi were intermarried with the Covoni, Infangati, Altoviti, and Machiavelli: D. Velluti, *Cronica domestica*, ed. del Lungo (Florence, 1914), pp. 292–293.

[17] Maggini, *l.c.*, p. 107; *Diario d'anonimo fiorentino*, ed. A. Gherardi (Florence, 1876), pp. 328, 353, 437.

[18] G. Boccaccio, *Il comento alla Divina Commedia*, ed. D. Guerri, ii (Bari, 1918), p. 213.

Cerchi del Garbo the Sassetti had suffered temporary exile during the struggle of Blacks and Whites, but they avoided bankruptcy.[19] Their business was money-lending and among the earliest records of Florentine bankers is the thirteenth century account-book of Gentile Sassetti and his sons.[20] It was not the only book kept by Gentile and certainly does not illustrate the Sassetti enterprises as a whole. Thus the greater part of Gentile's business capital was probably invested in the company of Sassetto Azzi which yielded a good and steady return. Part of this gain was spent in buying land and the book preserves accounts and dealings with agricultural tenants as well as payment of rent from shops and *fondachi* in Florence. Other land was acquired (and then let) as security for loans, though this was not usual. Most of the numerous loans recorded were made on the written pledge of guarantors, and it is clear that Gentile was profitably engaged in lending money to inconspicuous folk in the neighbourhood of Florence, sometimes against future deliveries of grain;[21] he also speculated from time to time in grants of livestock 'a soccio.'[22] In exploiting opportunities of investment in the *contado*, Gentile Sassetti was not, as will be seen, exceptional.

Little substantial change in the economic fortunes or practice of the Sassetti can be safely inferred from the *ricordanze*, three generations later, of Paolo d'Alessandro Sassetti.[23] Once again these are largely records of banking and other business operations. They obey a general tendency in giving more detail and contain more information about the lease of land. They also record more rural property than is mentioned in the earlier accounts and more systematic investment in land, and inevitably now include allusions to government stock. But there is nothing to imply the transformation of this family of bankers into *rentiers*, and the Sassetti are known to have continued actively in business.[24]

In Dante's day the Cerchi were considered upstarts, *gente nuova*. The Antellesi and Sassetti belonged certainly to the same class, although the origins of all three families may be confidently carried back at least to the earlier thirteenth century.[25] Older than these, though still perhaps of commercial beginnings,[26] were the

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[19] Though they may have come near it (Davidsohn, *Forsch.*, iii, n. 701, a. 1319), while politically they were excluded from office for more than a century according to Fr. Sassetti, *Notizie dell'origine e nobiltà della famiglia de' Sassetti* (1600), in E. Marcucci, *Lettere ed. e ined. di Filippo Sassetti* (Florence, 1855), p. xxix.

[20] *Libro del dare e dell'avere di Gentile de' Sassetti e suoi figli* (1274–1310) in Castellani, p. 286 seq.

[21] Castellani, pp. 310–311, 313, 335, 337, 338. For such loans in other parts of Europe, cf. R. de Roover, *l.c.*, p. 164; P. Wolff, *Commerce et marchands de Toulouse* (1954), pp. 179–180. In the fourteenth century Iacopo and Amerigo del Bene accepted repayment for loans in works and kind (wine): Sapori, 'I mutui dei mercanti fiorentini del Trecento e l'incremento della proprietà fondiaria,' in his *Studi di storia economica medievale* (Florence, 1946), p. 47. Cf. notes 10 *supra* and 29 *infra*.

[22] Castellani, pp. 320, 331, 333, 334, 339; some of these grants were 'a chapo salvo,' which guaranteed the total repayment of capital, eliminated all risk for the owner, and so in time were condemned by the Church as usury.

[23] *ASF. Carte Strozziane*, 2a serie, 4. Cf. Marcucci, *l.c.*

[24] Marcucci, *l.c.*; Florence Edler de Roover, 'Fr. Sassetti and the downfall of the Medici banking house,' *Bulletin of the Business History Society*, xvii (1943), p. 65 seq.

[25] Here and elsewhere remarks on family origins unless otherwise stated have been based only on the most obvious sources, the chronicles of G. Villani and R. Malespini (*Istoria fiorentina*, Florence, 1718), Santini, *Documenti dell'antica cosituzione di Firenze* (Florence, 1895, 1952), the *Libro di Montaperti* (ed. C. Paoli, Florence, 1889), Ildefonso, *Delizie* (particularly vol. vii), Davidsohn's *Geschichte* and *Forschungen*, and Ottokar's *Comune di Firenze alla fine del dugento* (Florence, 1926). For the Sassetti cf. Fr. Sassetti, *Notizie cit.*

[26] Both G. Villani (*Cronica*, v. 39) and Malespini (*Istoria*, 86, 93) make the Cavalcanti merchants by origin, but this is rejected by E. v. Roon Bassermann, 'Die ersten florentiner Handelsgesellschaften in England,' *V(ierteljahrschrift f.) S(ozial u.) W(irtschaftsgeschichte)*, xxxix, p. 99.

Cavalcanti, who already by 1200 were prominent in both business and the consular oligarchy of Florence. A century later they formed one of the great vendetta-waging families of *magnati*, and in the course of the struggle between Blacks and Whites and the disturbances which followed were several times banished and once declared bankrupt. By that time, Davidsohn implies, they had largely forsaken business to live off the income from their extensive town and country properties,[27] yet the one book of early *ricordanze* compiled by a Cavalcanti, that of Filippo di m. Cavalcante,[28] lends little support to this belief, and for long after the Cavalcanti maintained at least some connection with trade. The *ricordanze* consist mostly of business records, and specifically of loans, though these are typically combined with details of land purchase, farming, and stock-raising, in particular at Brozzi where much of the family property lay.[29]

For the history of a great family Messer Filippo's diary is of small value and at best illustrates only the life of one member; yet according to Dino Compagni the Cavalcanti could muster about sixty men 'da portare arme' and in 1316 they numbered at least eighty-two.[30] *Consorterie* of this size were common enough in the magnate class of medieval Italy and, as other family records show, they could contain all degrees of wealth, all types of activity, all shades of political opinion. Private *ricordanze* may consequently prove very fragile evidence for the history of classes or society as a whole. The 'domestic chronicle' of Donato Velluti brings vividly to life the contrasts of career and character within one family, where some did well and some died poor, some took to trade while some preferred public office or the profession of arms or simple idleness, and where if some married well, at least one brought disgrace by a 'low-born alliance.'[31] A family diary of the Ricci tells the same story: Rosso di Ricciardo Ricci died in 1383 with an estate valued at 40,000 florins 'tra possessioni, monte, casa et contanti et botteghe,' while his brother Uguccione, who gave all his time to politics, died in the same year poor—'non gli restò tanti beni immobili che fussino la dote della sua donna sanza la casa che abitava.'[32] It scarcely needs mention that Giovanni Bicci de' Medici, the father of Cosimo, came of an obscure and relatively poor branch of his family.

This variety of circumstance is particularly plain in the Strozzi family, which in 1351 numbered some twenty-eight households or 'case aperte.'[33] In the politics of later fourteenth century Florence, Strozzi may be regularly found on opposing sides, and they were unanimous only in discountenancing Andrea Strozzi, treated as half-witted by the chroniclers, who in 1343 led a rising against the government of his own class, the *popolo grasso.* The Strozzi indeed included some of the very wealthiest *popolani grassi* and formed with the Medici, Alberti, and certain others a group of merchant-banking families which escaped the bankruptcies of 1342–1346. Although not regular papal bankers, they enjoyed papal favour and conducted business at Avignon as well as in France and England.[34] They carried their wealth insolently, and Carlo Strozzi in particular, who married one daughter to Luchino Visconti and another to the count of Poppi, was conspicuous in promoting the plutocratic tyranny of the Parte Guelfa which precipitated the Ciompi rising in 1378. Like others of their class many Strozzi were then or shortly after proclaimed *magnati.* Magnate violence and unruliness were not discarded habits of the past; they persisted still, and in 1381 a charge was laid against Nofri di Pagno Strozzi, 'huomo possente superbo minacciante reo e malvagio, il quale ha già morti e feriti più uomini e femmine,' for assaulting a *popolano.*[35] Six years later large numbers of the Strozzi were again declared *magnati* when Nofri and Pagnozzino were outlawed and dispossessed after mortally wounding Piero Lenzi, *lanaiuolo,* in a brawl.[36] Certainly the Strozzi would not be fairly judged by these excesses,[37] which simply show that some of them, like the Bardi or Frescobaldi a century before, had assumed with their wealth the outlook and manners of the older nobility. Nor were all the Strozzi rich. Uberto degli Strozzi, prior in 1346, was held to be 'molto povero,' and Soldo di m. Ubertino Strozzi accepted office as *podestà* of S. Miniato for sake of the pay.[38] These casual instances, preserved in anecdote, are confirmed by family records.

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[27] *Geschichte*, iv (2), p. 135. For the properties owned by the Cavalcanti about the middle of the thirteenth century see Ildefonso, *Delizie*, vii, 219, 224–225, 237; cf. the will of Giannigosso di Aldobrandino dei Cavalcanti (?1242), *ASF Diplomatico, Badia*, 12.., n. 12.

[28] (1290–1324): *ASF Carte Strozziane*, 2a serie, 1, partly printed by Castellani, p. 578 seq.

[29] *Ibid.*, fos. 28*v*, 36*r*; Castellani, pp. 582, 591. For the Brozzi properties earlier see refs. n. 27 *supra*, and later see *ASF Diplomatico, Certosa*, 14.3.1362–1363, 27.3.1363 (division of estate by Andrea del fu Attaviano di m. Filippo Cavalcanti and his brothers). Filippo Cavalcanti also accepted repayment of loans in kind: Castellani, p. 583.

[30] D. Compagni, *Cronica*, ed. del Lungo, *RR.II.SS.*, new ed. ix (2) (1913), p. 263; G. Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani in Firenze* (Florence, 1899), p. 61, no. 6. In 1382, although by then several of the family had become *popolani*, changing their names (Ildefonso, *Delizie*, xiv, 259, 263, 267, 272), there were still 58 'magnate' Cavalcanti: Rodolico, *l.c.*, p. 166.

[31] Velluti, *l.c.* The Rucellai family also produced soldiers as well as merchants in the fourteenth century: G. Marcotti, *Un mercante fiorentino e la sua famiglia nel sec. xv* (Florence, 1881), pp. 156–157, etc.

[32] Ildefonso, *Delizie*, xiv, 220, 223; the history of two other members of the family show trade more profitable than politics: *ibid.*, pp. 225, 226–227. The Ricci tax-returns of 1427 disclose the same wide differences of economic condition (*ibid.*, p. 226 n.) as do those of other leading families: see for instance H. Sieveking, 'Aus genueser Rechnungs- u. Steuerbüchern,' *Sitzungsberichte kais. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, clxii, no. 2 (1909), p. 91 seq.

[33] *ASF Carte Strozziane*, 3a ser., 142, p. 2.

Miscellaneous records of the Strozzi, with diaries and accounts, survive in growing numbers from the early fourteenth century, the first century of their greatness. The family throve to riches in the *arte del cambio* (and later Calimala), and its descent may be traced from about 1200,[39] but only after several generations of unobtrusive industry do the Strozzi as intransigent Guelfs (Neri) attract attention from the chroniclers.[40] By that time they were well-established bankers, engaged particularly in lending money to communes, especially rural communes, in difficulties with taxation. This was a common practice, discouraged by law, but profitable and difficult to check,[41] and it was accompanied by the systematic extension of credit to small landowners and peasants, who as a result often lost their mortgaged property. Loans, calculated purchase, and sometimes coercion, were combined in developing the estates of Florentine merchant families.[42] This is well shown by the record of town and country properties acquired by purchase or foreclosure by Lapo di Strozza Strozzi, *campsor*, in the early fourteenth century. Loans to communes formed a part of Lapo's business,[43] but he was no less active in engrossing property by purchases which must often have concealed loans, in the villages nearby Florence. He bought in part from Florentine families as well as from churches and other Strozzi, but most of all he bought from country people, especially at Carmignano, where afterwards much family property lay.[44]

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[34] See the papal letter of July 1364 recommending 'mercatores societatum Pazemi (1. Pazzini) militis et Caroli de Stroczis curiam Romanam sequentium, ubi jam per tempora longa nomen legalitatis et fidei meruerunt,' Rymer, *Foedera*, iii (2), p. 738; Y. Renouard, 'Le compagnie commerciali fiorentini del Trecento,' *ASI*, xcvi (1938), pp. 68, 169, 178; *Les relations des papes d'Avignon et des compagnies commerciales et bancaires de* 1316 *à* 1378 (Paris, 1941), pp. 83, 113–114, 264, 266, 272, 299, etc.; A. Beardwood, *Alien merchants in England* 1350 *to* 1377 (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 10, 23, 60, 112; cf. notes 50–51 *infra*. Among the goods of Florentines seized at Marseilles in May 1376 were 84 bales of *lana franciesca* belonging to Pazzino Strozzi & Co.: *Anon. fiorent.*, p. 308, n. 3.

[35] *ASF Carte Strozziane*, 3a ser., 149, pp. 211–212, 315–317 (from the *tamburationes* or anonymous depositions against the overmighty. The same source preserves a charge in 1373 against Pierozzo di Biagio Strozzi who 'per arroganze e maggioranza tiene il giuoco a Monticelli, e presta dadi e tavolieri e ancora danari sopra giuoco e manda parecchi famigliole per lo pane'; the complaint was secret from fear of violence and in fact when witnesses were called they were afraid to speak: *ibid.*, pp. 207–208. Later (1404) Pierozzo was Florentine ambassador to Padua: *Epistolario di C. Salutati*, ed. F. Novati, iv, 80. In 1366 he had himself been attacked and wounded by Arnoldo de' Rossi, who was declared a *magnate*: *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 173, fol. 10*r*).

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 247 seq.; *Anon. Fiorent.*, pp. 473–474.

[37] Indeed many Strozzi were exempted from the proceedings of 1387, including Nofri di Palla (on whom see below), and there is a case later in which one Strozzi tried to have other Strozzi made *magnati* for an attack 'chon bastonj nelle reni e capo,' etc.: *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 122, fol. 58.

[38] Sacchetti, *Novelle*, cxxxiii, clviii. Soldo however was not destitute of property: *Carte Strozziane*, 3a ser., 76, f. 35*r*; 149, p. 244.

Precisely the same activity is attested of Marco di Rosso Strozzi,[45] and lies behind many dealings in land by Rosso (or Rossello) di Ubertino Strozzi and his heirs.[46] Ubertino, Rosso's father, was a banker in partnership with Marco and Strozza his brothers, who together, like Lapo, advanced money to communes.[47] In 1317, Rosso, already employed by the firm, was emancipated and from then until his death in 1340 was able steadily to increase his business fortune, most of which was invested at 8 per cent. in the current account (*fuori del corpo*) of the bank, to about ten times its original amount. This permitted him to marry his daughters well, keep his household expenses below his profits,[48] and invest in property.[49] His sons accordingly inherited a considerable estate in land as well as more than 5,000 *fiorini d'oro*.[50] They kept up their father's business investments,[51] but also put money liberally into land, both buying and lending on mortgaged security.[52] Their *ricordanze* suggest prosperity, but this impression is belied by a tax-return (undated) of Ubertino di Rossello. Tax-returns are at best not impartial documents, but this of Ubertino consists of nothing but complaints. He was forced, he said, to live in hired accommodation, 'per impotenzia come molti di voi (the tax-commissioners) deono sapere'; he had seven young children, his wife was pregnant, and he had three servants to maintain. He possessed some country property, including an 'abituro da signore,' costly to keep up, but it was all held on security for a sum of 3,000 florins by Carlo Strozzi & Co.; even so he had to share the expenses of the new castle at Campi, which he seems to have thought a vanity. After sixteen years he was still awaiting part of his wife's marriage-portion and he owed money to Pazzino Strozzi. At one time he was better off, but his substance had been wasted by his brother, as was general knowledge.[53] A generation later the account-book (1406–1416) of Ubertino's son Rossello does not suggest a greatly improved position.[54]

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[39] From a certain Arduino di Rosso: Carlo and Luigi Strozzi, *Apparato storico per la famiglia degli Strozzi*, *ASF Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 76, f. 13*v*; cf. Santini, *l.c.*, i, 233, 380. A phrase of G. Villani (*Cronica*, iv, 13) might indicate an ancient origin for the Strozzi (though Malespini does not mention them), and Carlo Strozzi in the seventeenth century proposed their descent from the Langobardi de Sommaia (*Apparato cit.*), but this is conjecture. One proof he offers is their ownership of certain castles near Florence, including one at Sommaia (Loiano), which they were obliged by the commune to defend in time of war; however there is no mention of these before the fourteenth century and one, at Campi, was not built until after 1370 (*Apparato cit.*; cf. *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 149, pp. 87, 216–217; Lorenzo Strozzi, *Vite degli uomini illustri della casa Strozzi*, ed. F. Zeffi (Florence, 1892), p. 12; J. Gaye, *Carteggio ined. d'artisti dei secoli* 14–16 (Florence, 1839–1840), i, 528, 530, 533; at Campi the Mazzinghi had a *castrum* or *castellare* and part of their property there was passing by purchase to the Strozzi before 1300: Ildefonso, *Delizie*, vii, 249 seq.; S. Ammirato, *Famiglie nobili fiorentine*, p. 85; Ottokar, *l.c.*, p. 97). Similarly the first mention of a Strozzi in connection with a *torre* (1327) is in a deed of purchase: *Apparato cit.*, fol. 42*r*. This and other cases like it create the suspicion that later genealogists treated as ancient and ancestral estates first acquired with the profits of trade.

[40] Even so none of them seems to have been chosen ambassador of Florence before 1343 (*Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 142, pp. 67–69) and in 1328 when certain business houses loaned money to the commune, five of the Strozzi together produced only 700 florins against the 2,000 florins of the Bardi or Acciaiuoli: B. Barbadoro, *Finanze della repubblica fiorentina* (Florence, 1929), p. 561 n.

[41] For ex. Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, iv (2), pp. 227–228.

[42] *Ibid.*, Ottokar, *l.c.*, p. 72, Sa pori, 'Mutui,' *cit.*, pp. 43–73; cf. G. Sassetti, *supra*, p. 185. Sacchetti (*Novelle*, lxxxviii) has a revealing story of the Medici trying to force a prosperous peasant to sell his farm.

[43] Davidsohn, *Forsch.*, iii, nos. 564, 650; Barbadoro, *l.c.*, pp. 422-423; A. Grunzweig, 'Les origines de la mercanzia de Florence,' *Studi in onore di G. Luzzatto*, i (Milan, 1950), p. 223. Cf. Ottokar, *l.c.*, p. 97.

[44] Lapo joined as well with his relatives in buying up houses in Florence to make way for the first piazza Strozzi: *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 82, pp. 1–81; *ibid.*, 76, f. 35*v*; 123, f. 66; 149, pp. 235 seq.; L. Strozzi, *Vite*, pp. 8–9.

[45] *ASF Arch. notarile*, Atti di Michele di ser Cambi (1342–1344).

[46] For their *ricordanze* (1317–1346) see *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 270. They have been analysed several times: Rodolico, *l.c.*, pp. 145–146; Davidsohn, *Forsch.*, iii, 200–201, and above all Florence Edler, 'Eclaircissements à propos des considérations de R. Davidsohn sur la productivité de l'argent au moyen age,' *VSWG*, xxx (1937), pp. 375–380.

[47] Davidsohn, *Forsch.*, iii, nos. 596, 653. Ubertino (di Rosso) must be distinguished from m. Ubertino (dello Strozza) *iudex*, who helped compile the Ordinamenti di Giustizia.

Some other Strozzi tax-returns are similarly plaintive. Such are the two returns of Marco di Goro Strozzi, who, though possessed of town and country property, was encumbered with debt, servants (who were overpaid), a growing family, and a perpetually pregnant wife.[55] Yet in 1427 the wealthiest man in Florence was Palla Strozzi, whose declared capital for taxation exceeded 160,000 florins.[56] Palla came of a different line of Strozzi from Rosso d'Ubertino or Marco di Goro. His father, Nofri, was already in 1399 the richest member of the family, though not yet among the richest few in Florence,[57] and some years later his declared capital reached nearly 90,000 florins.[58] It seems certain, therefore, that during the second half of the fourteenth century the position of greatest wealth had quickly passed within the Strozzi family from one to another of several branches. In 1351 Pazzino di Francesco and Marco di Rosso were probably the richest,[59] but Carlo di Strozzi must soon have rivalled them. In 1390 their place had evidently been taken by Bernardo di Annibaldo and the heirs of Tommaso di Soldo,[60] and then soon after by Nofri di Palla.

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[48] Cf. the Peruzzi at this time: A. Fanfani, 'Note sull'economia domestica dei Peruzzi e dei loro compagni,' *Riv. internaz. di scienze soc.*, xliii, 1935, pp. 100–101.

[49] Particularly property of the bankrupt Amieri: *ricordanze cit.*, fols. 5*v*, 6*r*, 6*v*.

[50] *ASF Arch. notarile*, Michele di ser Cambi, i, fols. 52*r* seq.; but this was after a family settlement and division of properties with Andrea di Ubertino, their uncle: *ricordanze cit.*, fols. 13*v* seq. In his will Rosso left £1500 *picc.* in bequests to the poor, etc., and ordered to be restored all interest and money taken 'in curia romana vel in avinone': *Arch. not.*, *l.c.*, fol. 1*r*; *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 122, fols. 1–3.

[51] See *ricordanze* of Rossello di Rosso (1363–1367), *Carte Strozz.*, 5a ser., 1. In 1363 Rossello and his brothers Tommaso, Ubertino, and Niccolo divided 6,400 florins, 'i quali denari ci trovammo in sulla compagnia di Carlo delli Strozzi e de compagni, cioè in corpo di compagnia'; they remained partners and in 1367 when the company was renewed Ubertino, Niccolo and Rossello subscribed 5,400 florins of a total capital of 53,600 florins. Rossello was also in the company's pay and travelled to Avignon in its service: *ibid.*, fols. 3*r*–6*r*. Carlo di Strozza Strozzi was now the leading partner, having entered the firm in 1331, and the two principal Strozzi companies of the 1360's and 1370's were those of Carlo and Pazzino: Peruzzi, *l.c.*, p. 222, and note 34 *supra*. In 1376–1377 Niccolo di Rosso was evidently in partnership with Pazzino: *Cal. Close Rolls* (1374–1377), pp. 472–474.

[52] *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 270, fols. 14*v* seq. As in Lapo's case, Florentine families are among the sellers (and borrowers), including once more the Amieri, Taddeo dell'Antella (1341), and the syndics in charge of the bankrupt Cocchi company (1342); but *contadini* are also prominent, and noteworthy are the lands received from a number of people in the *popolo* of S. Andrea a Botenaccio whose *estimi* are paid by the Strozzi brothers.

[53] *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 123, fol. 58. Details might be filled in from other sources, but a contributory cause of decline may have been the partitions of land and business capital among the brothers, as in 1346 and 1363: *ibid.*, 270, fol. 25*v* and no. 51 *supra*.

[54] *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 271: Rossello was still a tenant in Florence (for a time of another Strozzi), his *prestanze* were small, he sold up property and he pawned jewellery; but his farms remained intact, he dealt in agricultural produce, sold cloth, took work for a time in a woolshop, and had hired servants. In 1415 occurred a division of lands at Capalle with the heirs of Tommaso d'Ubertino.

[55] *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 138, fols. 104, 111 (1395 and some time after). Earlier returns (of 1346 and 1355) by his father and uncle, Goro and Niccolo di Iacopo, and Niccolo's will (1348) indicate a larger estate in land than Goro had; partition had again done its work: *ibid.*, 106, 113–114, 116–117; 2a ser., 82.

Nofri's father Palla di Iacopo Strozzi (m. 1348) was probably a banker. He certainly practised money-lending and among his debtors was Barna di Valorino, whose sister Margarita he had married in 1341. Barna came of the Curianni family, inconspicuous in Florentine annals but rescued from obscurity by a book of *ricordanze* covering several generations and most of the fourteenth century.[61] They record that in 1343 Barna, bound on business for Friuli, borrowed heavily from his brother-in-law, mortgaging part of his estate.[62] He returned in 1347 and in four years cleared off the debt, but only after selling land and after Palla had reduced the rate of interest and declared him quit, in his will of 1348, of all fresh interest on the loan.[63] This was not the first crisis of the kind in the Curianni family; their *ricordanze* start (in 1311) with a chronicle of the debts and business failure of Barna's grandfather Lapo di Valore, who owed money and had to assign land to his partner, Piero Altoviti, in a company trading to Avignon ('nela merchatatia di panni e nel chambio').[64] Such was the state of Lapo's affairs that his son Valorino, Barna's father, preferred in 1329 to renounce the inheritance. Valorino himself may have done better in trade, but Barna's venture in Friuli must be supposed unsuccessful. Whatever the reason there is no later reference in the family diary to trade, and the entries after 1348 rather show Barna and his son

[56] 162,925 florins 17s. 11d., of which 54,463 florins 11d. represented his estate in land, 94,671 florins 4d. government stock, and 14,791 florins 16s. 8d. business investments: Sieveking, *l.c.*, p. 93; however in 1426 Palla in fact held government stock to the value of 126,816 florins (ten times more than that of any other Strozzi) and in 1431 he complained that in the past eight years he had paid 112,000 florins in taxation and sought permission to sell shares worth 100,000 florins to foreigners: *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 90, p. 67; 138, pp. 10–11; 142, pp. 95–96; 173, fol. 13*r*.

[57] In 1399 he was taxed at 76 florins 1s. 11d. (giving a taxed capital of 7,600 florins), against the 10 florins each of five other Strozzi. Well above this assessment were Bartolomeo Panciatichi, seven of the Alberti, two of the Medici, a Guicciardini and a Rinuccini: Sieveking, *l.c.*, pp. 90–91.

[58] Undated and imperfect tax-return of the early fifteenth century: *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 165, fols. 90–92. According to this, Nofri valued his estate in land (with some expenses deducted) at 11,590½ florins; he also had about 70,000 florins of government stock and a claim of 2,000 florins against Guido dal Palagio; his business investments, as always in tax-returns, appear small and unprofitable: for three years past he had been holding 'tra sichurtà e quattro balloni di panni' 6,200 florins, 'chene ritraremo intorno di fior. dumila cinqueciento,' and a further 3,000 florins (of merchandise ?)—'Ritrassene per lunghezza di tempo a fiorini a oro di fior. 42 per cento Rit. 1400.'

[59] *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 173, fol. 11.

[60] L. Strozzi, *l.c.*, 23.

[61] *ASF MSS vari*, 77. Cf. Rodolico, *l.c.*, p. 141 seq. Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, iv (2), pp. 275, 337. For Palla's marriage to Margarita see fol. 8*r*—she remarried within two months of Palla's death: fol. 8*v*.

[62] *Ibid.*, fols. 7*v*, 38*v*. Barna borrowed 1270 florins, but the debt was recorded as 2,000 florins and dated 1340. Shortly before (1336–1338) Barna was working for the Bardi: Sapori, *La crisi delle compagnie mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi* (Florence, 1926), p. 256.

[63] *Ibid.*, fols. 7*v*, 9*v*, etc., 38*v*–39*r*.

[64] *Ibid.*, fols. 4*r*; cf. 7*v*. In 1317 Lapo was engaged in litigation over properties in Bibbiona with donna Bartola de' Gianfigliazzi, widow of Gherardo di Rosso Buondelmonti: *ASF Diplomatico, Certosa*, 19.10.1317.

Valorino buying, improving, and on occasion selling land at a profit, contracting advantageous marriages, and acquiring government securities. Through misfortune or mismanagement the Curianni may, like the Cerchi or Antellesi, have given up commerce altogether.

By marriage the Curianni possessed high connections in Florentine society, not only with the Strozzi but also with the Figli Petri, the Frescobaldi and the Castiglionchi. In 1338, Barna's sister Balda married Francesco da Castiglionchio,[65] whose brother Lapo, then not thirty years of age, was destined to become one of the best known and best hated men in Florence. Lapo made his name as a lawyer, a man of letters—the humanist letters of Petrarch and Salutati—and an active politician; but his strongest claim to be remembered is the 'Letter to his son,' a proud disquisition on his family origins and the nature of 'nobility,' in which may be heard the accents of a class, the jealous and in part disfranchised upper class, of an older and more aristocratic society.[66]

The Castiglionchi were the Guelf branch of a feudal family with castles and lands near Pontassieve. As often happened they had split into two groups, of which one (the Castiglionchi) was submissive and the other (the Da Volognano) hostile to the Florentine commune. As adherents of Florence the Castiglionchi were given houses in the city and allowed, after manumitting their 'vassals,' to retain their estates. These facts Lapo rehearses in his 'Letter,' that his son may properly learn his 'condition' and the manner of life suitable to it, and he is careful to explain that the Castiglionchi, like the Ricasoli, although Florentine citizens, had avoided commerce, preferring country life and landlordship. They had never been so reduced as to lose their lands or rights of patronage or the reputation of nobility, and never descended to 'trades' (*arti*). Some of them certainly had been merchants, 'but of noble and honest not base merchandise, voyaging to France and England and trading in cloth and wool as do all the greater and better men of the city: which activity is esteemed fine and undemeaning.'[67] At the same time Lapo recalls that many former villein 'vassals' of the family were now Florentine citizens, even rich and powerful, and he is moved to passing speculation whether a relationship (of fealty) created by oath in perpetuity could ever in the eyes of God be broken.[68] This attitude explains why Lapo, with his pride of blood and contempt for *novi cives*, became the most intemperate of the 'arciguelfi,' the *grandi* and *popolani grassi* who sought for more than twenty years by party persecution and arbitrary tests of party orthodoxy to impose their rule in Florence until checked by violence in 1378. Lapo was then repaid with equal ferocity, his house was burned and he and his family driven into exile, where he died in 1381. He had done better to remain a man of letters.[69]

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[65] *Ibid.*, fol. 8*r*.

[66] L. Mehus, *Epistola o sia ragionamento di messer Lapo da Castiglionchio* (Bologna, 1753). For Lapo as humanist see R. Sabbadini, *Scoperte dei codici latini e greci* (Florence, 1914), ii, 168–173, Davidsohn, 'Tre orazioni di Lapo da Castiglionchio, ambasciatore fiorentino a papa Urbano V,' *ASI*, 5th ser., xx, 1897, p. 225 seq.; R. Weiss, *Il primo secolo dell'umanesimo* (Rome, 1949), p. 55 seq. For his books, which included beside legal works certain of Petrarch's writings, see the *ricordanze* of his sons: *ASF MSS vari*, 79, fo. 86*v*; 80, fos. 3*r* seq.; cf. F. Novati, *Il libro memoriale de' figliuoli di M. Lapo da Castiglionchio* (1382), *Nozze D'Ancona-Cassin*, Bergamo, 1893, which I have been unable to consult; I owe the reference to Dr. N. Rubinstein.

[67] *Epistola*, 147–148. Filippo Villani, in his life of N. Acciaiuoli, draws the same distinction, clearly a common one, between 'mercatanzie nobili' and the sale of 'cose vili.' One of the Castiglionchi engaged in 'noble' trade was Lapo' brother Francesco, who died in England, probably in the service of the Alberti: Curianni, *ricordanze cit.*, fol. 8*r*; Renouard, 'Compagnie', *cit.*, 53; Sapori, *Libri degli Alberti del Giudice* (Milan, 1952), pp. 96, 131.

[68] See the revealing account of Lapo's meeting with the descendant of one of the family's former 'vassals': *Epistola*, 43–45.

Lapo kept a business diary, disjointed *ricordanze* of his domestic and professional life, which present him in the character of lawyer and landlord, administering his share of the ancestral estates at Castiglionchio and elsewhere, receiving fees from his clients, in many cases churchmen, and drawing his salary from the commune for lectures on the Decretals. The rest are details, commonplace enough, of debts and loans, and particularly debts. Lapo's taste for learning and literature is not reflected here, nor, beyond the list of properties forfeit on his exile, are the incidents of his political career.[70]

The political practices of the Castiglionchi are casually but conveniently illustrated in the diary of another member of the legal profession, the notary Niccolo di ser Ventura Monachi, who became chancellor of Florence and was an enemy or rather victim of Lapo and his faction.[71] In 1366 the *capitani* of the Parte Guelfa, Lapo's brother Alberto among them, made a first attempt to disfranchise (*ammonire*) Niccolo as a 'Ghibelline' but were defeated; in 1378 when Lapo himself was a *capitano*, they tried again and this time were successful.[72] What made Niccolo offensive to the Party does not appear. He was of the propertied class and shared its interests.[73] His father had been chancellor before him, his brother was head of a prosperous wool business, and he himself a member of the *arte della lana*; but his family was doubtless 'new' in Lapo's sense, and the chronicler Stefani describes Niccolo as 'very grasping.'[74] His *ricordanze* certainly reveal how much a man in his position might gain from offices and prove by his frequent purchases in and out of Florence his desire to invest as much as possible in land. As a result the diary is largely taken up with details of town and country leases and expenses on improvement. Marzi concludes that he meddled too much in politics and in 1382 he was banished for a time from Florence.[75]

In 1382 Florentine politics had changed again, the 'democratic' interlude came to an end, and among the exiles reinstated were the sons of Lapo da Castiglionchio. The details of their rehabilitation are set down in their *ricordanze*.[76] Lapo's estate had been confiscated and then sold or assigned to creditors. His heirs demanded total restitution and with some financial aid from the commune were eventually successful, but not without having to pay compensation for improvement and large expenses on repairs. Their feelings were clearly sore at the treatment they met and they were particularly incensed against the Alberti, Benedetto, Nerozzo, and the sons of Bernardo, to whom Lapo had owed money for rent, cloth, wine and the legal charges on certain deeds of sale and who had accordingly used their chance to invade his property. It was Benedetto degli Alberti, commanding friends among the 'ufficiali dei beni dei ribelli,' who made recovery slow and difficult. Things came right in the end and thereafter the diaries contain only the usual record of leases and rents, loans to the government, and family affairs.

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[69] 'Utinam litteratoria contentus militia, nunquam ad ambitionis tumidos spiritus animum applicasset,' *Epistolario di C. Salutati*, ii, 219.

[70] *Ricordanze di Lapo da Castiglionchio* (1362 seq.); *Carte Strozz.*, 2a ser., 3. Cf. the *ricordanze cit.* of his sons: 79, fos. 69*r*, 87*r*, 100*r* seq., 134*r*; 80, f. 2; also, for property at Castiglionchio, the Curianni *ricordanze*, fol. 8*r*.

[71] *Ricordanze di Niccolo di ser Ventura Monachi* (1348–1380), *Carte Strozz.*, 2a ser., 2, extensively used by D. Marzi for his life of Niccolo in *La Cancelleria della repubblica fiorentina* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1910), p. 79 seq.

[72] *Ricordanze*, fols. 69*v*–70*r*; Marzi, *l.c.*, pp. 100–103.

[73] Thus he was happy in the system, favoured by the upper classes, of *prestanze* or government finance by loans yielding nominally 5 per cent., actually 10 or 15 per cent. interest: *Ricordanze*, fol. 40*r*; Rodolico, *l.c.*, pp. 272–273, 297.

[74] Marzi, *l.c.*, pp. 81, 94, 104. He was able to give his daughters marriage-portions almost as generous as those of Lapo's daughters: *Ricordanze*, fols. 31*v*, 34*r*; *Ricordanze* of Lapo's sons, 79, fol. 97*v*.

[75] He returned in 1388 and died of plague in 1400; Marzi, p. 104.

[76] *ASF MSS vari*, 79–81. Cf. Lapo's *ricordanze*, fos. 14*r*–16*v*, 30*r*, 54, 56*r*, 108*v* seq.

The Alberti, however much divided from the Castiglionchi in politics, were like them a feudal family which had come late though successfully to trade.[77] In their origins they typified a large class of Florentines, the class condemned by Dante, of migrants from the country, who after several generations were themselves to resent the rise of upstarts from outside. They came in growing numbers from the twelfth to the fourteenth century and from all levels of feudal society. This can be shown from the two families of the Da Panzano and Sirigatti-Niccolini. Both came from the country and both engaged eventually in trade, but their social origins were very different. The family tradition of the Niccolini derived them from Passignano in the Val di Pesa where they owned property,[78] and in fact they were descended from tenants (*fideles* and *fictaioli perpetui*) of the abbey of Passignano.[79] They entered trade (in wool and silk) and well before 1400 were established by wealth and marriage among the leading families of Florence who formed the Albizzi oligarchy. Lapo Niccolini, whose diary survives, was a partner with his brother in the cloth trade, yet his *ricordanze* hardly mention commercial enterprises; they relate almost wholly to land, its purchase (notably at Passignano) and administration.[80]

The Da Panzano were landed gentry, descended, with the Ricasoli, from the great twelfth century feudal house of the Firidolfi. They must have satisfied Lapo da Castiglionchio's standards of nobility and seem in fact to have been even slower to enter commerce than Lapo's own family. Luca di Matteo da Panzano, who left a very detailed diary,[81] wrote in 1432, when elected to the *Sei di Mercanzia*, that he gladly accepted because 'being nobles of great antiquity, no-one of our family of the Firidolfi da Panzano ever held that office, since they were never merchants'.[82] He himself was apprenticed at thirteen to the silk trade and in time started his own company; he also loaned money to rural communes to help them with taxation.[83] At the same time he retained a share in the family estates and rights of patronage at Panzano and added to his properties there and round about. In trade he claimed (in a tax-return of 1451) not to have prospered greatly and to have been obliged to withdraw for two years to live economically in the country; yet in 1458 his assets seem still to have been about equally divided between land and other investments.[84]

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[77] Sapori, 'Gli Alberti del Giudice di Firenze,' *Studi Luzzatto cit.*, i, 161 seq.; *Libri degli Alberti*, introd.

[78] *Ricordanze* of Lapo di Giovanni de' Sirigatti (1379-1426): *Carte Strozz.*, 2a ser., 6, used in detail with similar records by G. Niccolini da Camugliano, 'Libri di ricordanze dei Niccolini,' *Riv. delle biblioteche e degli archivi*, N.S., ii, 1924, pp. 1–30, 88–91, 172–187, 243–252; 'A medieval Florentine, his family and possessions,' *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, xxxi, 1925–1926, p. 1 seq., and *The Chronicles of a Florentine family* (London, 1933), p. 77 seq.

[79] J. Plesner, *L'émigration de la campagne à la ville libre de Florence au xiiie siècle* (Copenhagen, 1934), pp. 142 seq., 222; cf. the 'vassals' of the Castiglionchi, *supra*.

[80] In one case the land bought (at S. Biagio di Passignano) was burdened with a *fittolino* in kind to the abbey: *ricordanze*, fol. 18*v*. As other ecclesiastical records show, particularly those of the bishop of Florence, church land subject to small perpetual rents (and still often involving fealty) had become by 1300 at the latest freely alienable, saving the lord's consent and perhaps a payment to him, and it was often dealt in by citizen families who might like the Niccolini have first prospered as tenants of such holdings.

[81] (1406 seq.), *Carte Strozz.*, 2a ser., 9; C. Carnesecchi, 'Un fiorentino del sec. xv e le sue ricordanze domestiche,' *ASI*, 5th ser., iv, 1889, pp. 145–173. Like the ricordanze of Luca di Totto (*supra* n. 2) it contains a full account of a successful vendetta: Carnesecchi, p. 149.

[82] Carnesecchi, pp. 154–155; they were however among the creditors of the bankrupt Peruzzi in the mid-fourteenth century: *ricordanze*, fol. 77; Peruzzi, *l.c.*, i, 473–474; Carnesecchi, p. 167; Sapori, *Crisi*, p. 170.

The estates of Luca and his relatives at Panzano included rents and properties (*piazze* and *casolari*) in the Castello,[85] remnants of an older order, still fairly common even on lay properties in the Florentine *contado* as well as Tuscany generally. Most of the family lands, however, were let on short-term leases for money rents or to *mezzadri*.[86] The estates of Lapo da Castiglionchio similarly, although an ancient property once of feudal type, consisted of farms let for money or a share of the crops.[87] It need hardly be added that all the other rural properties described in these diaries conform to that system, and in particular to *mezzadria*.[88] This is not to say that *fitti*, fixed money or grain rents, were not common; grants 'afitto' for one to six years are attested on most of these estates. They tend certainly to appear on lands held as mortgaged securities,[89] but this alone does not explain their use. In fact the Florentine statutes contemplated both types of lease, 'ad laborandum' (i.e. *mezzadria*) and 'ad affictum,'[90] and there is evidence that on both lay and ecclesiastical estates they could be treated as interchangeable.[91]

Even so *mezzadria* was probably more in favour, and on some lands no other form of lease seems to have been used.[92] Often the *ricordanze* give only the barest details of grants 'a mezo.' Certain conditions, normally stated in formal deeds, were either statutory or so general as to be well understood: such were the terms requiring the tenant to reside and not farm other land or do other work without the landlord's licence, the tenant's duty to work well, prune vines and other trees and maintain hedges and ditches, and the law forbidding him to cut down trees without permission.[93] The *ricordanze* emphasise rather the conditions which might vary from case to case in what was a very flexible form of contract, combining momentarily and according to their relative strength the interests of landlord and tenant. Grants were normally made for three to five years,[94] although in practice they could run for less or be renewed to the same or a different tenant before the lease expired. It was normal also for crops to be shared equally, but sometimes the landlord claimed a higher proportion of the wine, or he might take only wine, exacting money in place of grain, and quite frequently he would buy a part of the tenant's share of produce.[95] Another general custom of both grants 'a mezo' and 'afitto' required delivery in Florence at the tenant's expense, the landlord paying the *gabella*.

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[83] *Ricordanze*, fols. 116*v*–117*v* (1443).

[84] *Ibid.*, fols. 200*v* seq.

[85] *Ibid.*, fols. 99*r*, 99*v*, 145*r*, 200*r*, 200*v*; cf. 170*v* seq.

[86] *Ibid.*, fols. 6*v*, 35*v*–36*v*, 61*v*. seq., 125*r*, 136*v*, 179*v*, 200*r*; cf. 176*r*.

[87] *Ricordanze* of Lapo da Castiglionchio, fols. 12*r*, 15*v*, 16, etc., 106*r*; cf. his sons' *ricordanze*, 80, fos. 1*v*, 7r, 9*r*, 14*r*; 81, fos. 9*r*, 9*v*, 96*r*, etc. The Ricasoli too were letting their farms to *mezzadri* by the early fourteenth century: A. Casabianca, 'La mezzeria in Toscana in alcuni documenti medioevali,' *Atti dei Georgofili*, 5th ser., xx, 1923, pp. 25–26.

[88] The following remarks on land tenure are based on all the foregoing family records, together with others quoted below (nn. 91, 95), some *ricordanze* of Sandro di Buono Strozzi (a. 1366) and the 'libro di possessioni' of Gio. di Palla Strozzi (1400–1437): *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 123, fols. 223 seq.; 4a ser., 341.

[89] See the *ricordanze* of G. Sassetti, pp. 291–292, and Fil. Cavalcanti, fols. 43*v*–44*v*, 48*v* (Filippo's diary records only *fitti*). The same tendency is suggested by the acts relating to Marco Strozzi's land 'purchases' (*supra*, n. 45) and the credit operations of Iacopo and Amerigo del Bene (Sapori, *Studi*, p. 52). It seems also that the Florentine government and the Parte Guelfa let rebel lands for fixed rents: *ASF Diplomatico, Archivio generale*, 14.2.1330–1331; Rodolico, *l.c.*, pp. 148–149; R. Piattoli, *Codice diplomatico dantesco* (1940), nos. 164, 167.

[90] *Statuto del podestà*, ed. R. Caggese (Florence, 1921), pp. 123, 143. Both leases are already described in the *Formularium fiorentinum artis notariae* (1220–1242), ed. G. Masi (Milan, 1943), pp. 29–30.

[91] See *ricordanze* of P. Sassetti, fol. 56*r*, and of Michele de' Cerchi, 310, fol. 22*r*; also the *libro mastro* of Fr., Gio., Simone and Iacopo di m. Palla Strozzi (1377 seq.), *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 277, fol. 22*v*. For ecclesiastical estates see P. J. Jones, 'A Tuscan monastic lordship in the later Middle Ages: Camaldoli,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, v, 1954, p. 176, and 'Le finanze della badia di Settimo,' *Riv. di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 1956.

[92] On those specifically of the Dell'Antella, Curianni, and Niccolini, of Ubertino di Rossello Strozzi and Marco di Goro Strozzi. By contrast the 1378 tax-return of Fr. Rinuccini suggests that all his rents were *fitti* (though more in grain than money), but the forms of lease are not specified: *Ricordi storici di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini*, ed. G. Aiazzi (Florence, 1840), pp. 34–46. Cf. Fil. Cavalcanti, *supra*, n. 89.

Outside these rules variation was frequent and determined by the bargain struck. Differences turned particularly on what to-day are called 'scorte,' especially the supply of seed and livestock. Describing the insolent pretensions of peasants after the Black Death, the chronicler Stefani says they were requiring the landlord to supply all plough-beasts at his own risk and apparently all seed.[96] The evidence of the *ricordanze*, which tends to fall after 1350, shows these claims to have failed. At least they indicate that if landlords did certainly possess plough-beasts and other livestock of their own and did in certain cases share the price and profit (or loss) of the pair of oxen usual on every farm, it was more common for the tenant to provide them, although he often needed a loan from the lord to help him.[97] At the same time where the land was suitable, for example in Mugello, the landlord might raise sheep and goats 'a soccida' with his tenants, and it was a frequent practice to share the price of pigs in this way, afterwards dividing the profits of the litter and the pork. The supply of seed followed the same tendencies: quite often the tenant supplied it all, sometimes the landlord provided half, but more usually his share was a smaller proportion, in many cases limited to the seed of beans and vetches or the fodder crops sown for green manuring (*sovescio*).[98]

The landlord's contribution to *sovescio* illustrates the active part he normally took in the care and cultivation of his property. Again and again tenants were reminded of their duty to prune vines, plant new shoots (*propaggini*, sometimes a specified number), dig and properly maintain the ditches and so on, and the attendant works and expenses were almost always shared by the lord. This close association of tenant and landlord was characteristic of *mezzadria*, but regarding their relations with one another, which could on occasion be strained,[99] the *ricordanze* are disappointingly reticent. They merely prove that changes of tenure were frequent,[100] and that tenants were normally in debt to the landowner for advances of money and grain—they might even have to borrow for food;[101] but this again was characteristic of *mezzadria* and accounts were usually settled at the end of the lease.[102] Only peasants of some substance could presumably furnish seed and plough-beasts, and some at least can be shown from these diaries to have owned land themselves[103]

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[93] For ex. *Statutum bladi reipublicae Florentinae* (1348), ed. G. Masi (Milan, 1934); 'Norme agrarie degli statuti del popolo e del comune di Firenze,' *Archivio Vittorio Scialoja*, i, 1934, pp. 180 seq.

[94] Legislation following the Black Death required residence for at least three years: *Stat. bladi*, pp. 167, 179–180.

[95] *Ricordanze* of the Dell'Antella, p. 23 n.; P. Sassetti, fol. 39*v*; Niccolo di ser Ventura Monachi, fols. 59*r*–60*r*. Cf. *Ricordanze di Paliano di Falco Falcucci* (1382–1406); *Carte Strozz.*, 2a ser., 7, e.g. fols. 27*v*–28*r*; estate accounts of Nofri di Palla Strozzi (1394), *ibid.*, 4a ser., 64; grant (1342) by Marco d'Uberto Strozzi, *Arch. notarile*, Michele di ser Cambi, i, fol. 31. The special value of the wine crop is implied in the law that no tenant might sell even his share before the wine harvest, and even then the landlord had first refusal; grain and oil by contrast he could sell in advance, provided again the lord had first refusal: 'Norme agraria,' pp. 189–191.

[96] 'Li lavoratori delle terre del contado volieno tali patti che quasi ciò si ricogliea era lor si potea dire. Ed avevano imparato a tôrre li buoi dall' oste a rischio dell'oste . . . erano, si potea dire, loro i poderi tanto di buoi, di seme, di presto e di vantaggio voleano': *Cronaca*, rub. 636.

[97] Cf. remarks of G. Niccolini, 'A medieval Florentine,' p. 12, and *Chronicles*, pp. 91–92.

[98] Once again the lord often had to lend seed to the tenant.

It can be seen that *ricordanze*, though sometimes incoherent and disjointed, usefully illustrate conditions on lay estates at a time when records of the kind are much more abundant in the archives of the Church. Yet they belong with few exceptions to families grown rich in banking and trade, and the tendency already noticed in these memoranda, to record particularly dealings of all kinds in land and the administration of land has created the impression that during the fourteenth century Florentine families began to abandon trade for land.[104] The *ricordanze* of Rosso di Ubertino Strozzi and his sons, it is pointed out, begin with business records and give way increasingly to details of traffic in land.[105] However, the traffic in land consisted in part of credit transactions, while the diary of Rosso's son, Rossello, show him and his brothers still actively engaged in trade long after their father's death.[106] An account-book of Nofri di Palla Strozzi (1394) contains only agricultural records, but his tax-return some years later reveals investments in business and government stock.[107] Florentine families, as already seen, comprised many members, widely different in condition and activity; their records were similarly various and often included beside the records of trade estate-accounts as well, 'libri di possessioni,' 'quaderne delle recholte,' and so on. The Datini archives are unique in surviving entire.[108] It can still perhaps be said that some families, like the Curianni, Cerchi Bianchi, or Dell'Antella, who came to grief in commerce, did withdraw to live from land (and government stock).[109] Even then it should be remembered that members of families which suffered spectacular bankruptcy in the fourteenth century continued intermittently for long after to enter business.[110]

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[99] See for instance the late fourteenth century lease printed by D. Castellacci, 'Tre scritte di mezzeria in volgare,' *ASI*, 5th ser., xi, 1893, pp. 381–383, and particularly the clause requiring that the tenant 'mi pogha la mia parte de' sarmenti da parte, ch'io no voglio m'abia piue a vole' ucidere o dirmi vilania.'

[100] Once or twice land is said to be without tenants at all, in one case since 1348: tax returns of Ubertino di Rossello Strozzi and Nofri di Palla Strozzi (fol. 90*v*). For some fifteenth century examples on the Niccolini estates see G. Niccolini, 'A medieval Florentine,' p. 17; *Chronicles*, p. 98.

[101] 'Pro suo mangiare': *ricordanze* of Niccolo di ser Ventura Monachi, fol. 62*r* (a. 1367); but at the end of the lease the tenant had cleared off all debts: fols. 62*r*–63*r* (a. 1369).

[102] Sometimes tenants did fall into difficulties. In 1384, P. Sassetti's *lavoratore* at Campi still owed rent to Piero Spini, his former landlord, who therefore caused his pair of oxen (valued 50 florins) to be seized pending payment: *ricordanze*, fol. 77*v*.

[103] *Ricordanze* of P. Sassetti, fols. 41*r*, 63*r*, and Luca da Panzano, fol. 165. Cf. Niccolini, 'Medieval Florentine,' p. 13; *Chronicles*, pp. 92–93. Very few of the *mezzadri* mentioned in these diaries were required to produce pledges to guarantee their position.

[104] Rodolico, *l.c.*, p. 130 seq. and 'Il ritorno alla terra nella storia degli italiani,' *Atti dei Georgofili*, cxi, 1933, p. 323 seq.

[105] 'Si comincia con mercanti, e si finisce . . . con possessori di terre,' Rodolico, *l.c.*, p. 146.

[106] *Supra*, p. 189. It should be noted that some of the lands acquired by Rosso and his sons belonged to persons bankrupt or in difficulties, whose creditors doubtless included Rosso and his family: *supra*, nos. 49, 52.

[107] *Supra*, nos. 58, 95 and *infra*, p. 200–1.

[108] Other Strozzi *ricordanze* contain only domestic detail and estate accounts: thus those of Sandro di Buono and Fr. di Palla (*supra*, nn. 88, 91), from the last of which Rodolico again inferred a withdrawal from trade to land: *l.c.*, p. 147.

[109] *Supra*, pp. 183–4, 190–1; Rodolico, *l.c.*, p. 141 seq. Machiavelli reports of Lorenzo de' Medici that after his losses in business he turned to land as more 'firm and secure riches.' Cf. Luca da Panzano, *supra*, p. 194.

The principal wealth of such families after their discomfiture in trade must nevertheless have lain in government securities and land. It is more difficult to decide what distribution of capital should infallibly mark the family active in trade, still more a society dedicated mainly to business. The tax-returns of Nofri di Palla Strozzi and his son reveal only a small proportion of their declared capital invested in trade, but they were business men and came of a business family;[111] even the Medici in 1427–1430 appear from their tax statements to have had less money placed in commerce than in land or government stock.[112] The distribution of investments can be determined only statistically, but comprehensive statistics are lacking in Florentine records before the *catasti* of 1427 and even then are unreliable. It was traditional to declare as few commercial investments as possible and represent business as bad, and there is no doubt that returns of business capital were falsified to an extent which made all attempts to tax it ineffective.[113] It must also be noted that many firms and business families operated extensively with deposit capital.[114] According to his tax-return of 1378, Francesco Rinuccini possessed land to the value of 30,000 florins, government securities totalling 14,500 florins, and only 2,500 florins nett. 'tra mercatanzia e danari'; yet Francesco had wide-flung business enterprises, was possibly the richest man in Florence, and when he died in 1382 was said to have left 180,000 florins, 'contanti d'oro' apart from land.[115]

It is doubtful therefore whether any reliable means exists of measuring the general tendency of investments in fourteenth century Florence; certainly no movement away from business, no 'new direction' in the placing of capital,[116] can be convincingly proved from the random evidence of *ricordanze*. Instances are still not difficult to find in late medieval Florence of men whose wealth lay least in land;[117] but beside them no less certainly was a class of individuals or families, old and new, the *scioperati*, who lived by land alone and the interest of government stock.[118] Paolo da Certaldo treated as normal the case of those who drew their income only from land, though he also said: 'the country produces good animals but bad men, therefore use it little: stay in the city, practise some craft or trade, and you'll get on.'[119] Over a century later Guicciardini described the class of 'pernicious citizens who live by their fat revenues from land' and government investments.[120] Such families, the later aristocracy of Medici Tuscany, were probably increasing; but it is notable how many Florentine houses continued to produce business men and business capital uninterruptedly from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.[121] During the sixteenth century it is generally agreed that a new spirit of disdain for trade and industry, even agricultural industry, spread universally in Italy;[122] but it seems no less agreed that if the Italians were losing their monopoly of international trade and banking, their primacy was slow in passing and there was no sudden decay.[123] Florence specifically was still in the early sixteenth century considered a mercantile and industrial city,[124] as before in the fifteenth[125] and the later fourteenth century.[126] The 'new direction' was followed only gradually, and the 'return' of Italians 'to the land' was the process of generations.[127]

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[110] This may be shown for example of the Frescobaldi, Spini, Compagni, Peruzzi, Bardi and Bonaccorsi.

[111] *Supra*, nn. 56, 58.

[112] Sieveking, *l.c.*, pp. 96, 99–100; cf. the Panciatichi, *ibid.*, pp. 94–95. Cf. also Luca da Panzano (*supra*, p. 14) and P. Falcucci (*ricordanze*, fols. 55*v*–56*v*) who though business men, had as much or more money in land and *Monte* shares than in trade. Already the Alberti had their capital divided about equally between trade and land: Sapori, 'Gli Alberti,' p. 188.

[113] Canestrini, *La scienza e l'arte di stato*, i (Florence, 1862), p. 419 seq., 428. *Lettere di un notaio* (*ser Lapo Mazzei*) etc., ed. C. Guasti (Florence, 1880), i, 393–394; Sieveking, *l.c.*, p. 103 seq.; A. Sapori, 'Economia e morale alla fine del Trecento,' *Studi senesi*, lxiv, 1952, p. 73 seq. Canestrini (pp. 151, 156) states that the *catasti* of Florentine citizens yielded 25,341 florins of which 5,501 florins represented the contribution of commercial wealth; according to Sieveking (p. 103) the total capital of Florentine citizens was 8–9,000,000 florins of which business capital amounted to 1,100,200 florins.

[114] Sieveking, p. 94; Y. Renouard, *Hommes d'affaires italiens* (Paris, 1949), pp. 123–125. Because liability was unlimited the capital of commercial firms did not need to be very large: R. S. Lopez, 'Italian leadership in the medieval business world,' *Journal of economic history*, viii, 1948, p. 67.

[115] *Ricordi storici cit.*, pp. 14, 34 seq., 112 seq.; Guido Monaldi, *Diario*, in *Istorie pistolesi* (Florence, 1733), p. 355.

[116] Rodolico, *l.c.*, p. 149.

[117] Thus Ghiacente da Panzano (*ricordanze* of Luca da Panzano, fol. 86*r*), Puccio Pucci (C. Merkel, 'I beni della famiglia di Puccio Pucci,' *Miscellanea nuziale Rossi-Teiss*, Trento, 1897, p. 164), Fr. Sassetti (Florence Edler de Roover, *l.c.*, p. 68) and possibly Goro Dati (*Il libro segreto*, ed. C. Gargioli, Bologna, 1869). At Prato about three-eighths of Fr. Datini's capital on his death (1410) was invested in land and government stock (*Lettere di un notaio cit.*, i, p. cxxxix), and at Pisa in 1427 the five richest citizens had most of their capital in trade: Sieveking, pp. 107–108. Account should be taken also of families like the Medici (*supra*, nn. 112–113) whose tax-returns were imperfect.

One proof offered in tracing this movement in Florence to the fourteenth century is the substantial return that might be had from landed investments. It has been argued that later medieval business profits, which were anyway subject to violent fluctuation, did not if properly estimated normally rise above 15 per cent.[128] Much capital was also deposited 'sopra corpo' at a fixed interest rate of 6 to 10 per cent.[129] It is therefore possible to show that the return from land in the fourteenth century might sometimes be as high as the payment on deposits, or as much as 8 per cent.[130] But, as Rodolico rightly emphasises, there were other motives than profit for acquiring land, and land and business were never considered merely alternative forms of investment.

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[118] A. Doren, *Le arti fiorentine* (tr. G. B. Klein, Florence, 1940), i. 162, 192 seq. The chronicler Stefani may have been such a *scioperato* (*Cronaca*, civ), certain of the Strozzi also (*supra*, p. 189), while D. Velluti complained of young men of merchant families who dissipated their substance in 'cortesia': *Cronica*, pp. 34–36, 139–140.

[119] His ideal was the church-going business man: *Libro di buoni costumi*, ed. A. Schiaffini (Florence, 1945), pp. 91, 96, 124.

[120] *La decima scalata*, in *Dialogo e discorsi del reggimento di Firenze*, ed. A. Palmarocchi (Bari, 1932), p. 201.

[121] For example the Strozzi, Sassetti, Compagni, Cavalcanti, Portinari, Capponi, Pitti, Albizzi, Manelli, Tornaquinci (Tornabuoni), Baroncelli, etc.

[122] See particularly G. Barbieri, *Ideali economici degli italiani nell'inizio dell'età moderna* (Milan, 1940), passim. All regions were affected, but some contemporaries still drew a distinction between the 'Napolitani,' or 'Lombardi' and the Venetians, Genoese and Florentines, who 'indifferentemente esercitano la mercatanzia; in modo che i più nobili fra loro sono per lo più i mercatanti di maggior faccende': *ibid.*, p. 113, no. 52. The notion of some trades as more noble than others persisted (*ibid.*, pp. 160, 191 seq.), but there ripened also a division between older noble families and those who, though noble, 'spe lucri vel etiam propter inopiam exercent viles artes' (such as commerce): M. Rabozzi, 'Lotte in Novara fra antica e nuova nobiltà sotto la dominazione spagnola,' *Boll. stor. per le prov. di Novara*, xxxix, 1948, p. 7. For 'abhorrence' even of agriculture by noble landowners see G. Agnelli, 'Relazione dello stato di Ferrara di O. di Rena (1589),' *Atti Dep. Ferrarese di Stor. Pat.*, viii, 1896, p. 270.

[123] G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica dell'età moderna e contemporanea*, i, *Età moderna* (Padua, 1955), p. 59 seq. Cf. F. Braudel, *La Méditerrannée et le monde méditerranéen à l'epoque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), p. 339 seq.; R. S. Lopez in *Cambridge Economic History*, ii, 351 seq.; C. M. Cipolla, 'The decline of Italy,' *Economic Hist. Review*, 1952, pp. 178–187; Y. Renouard, 'Lumières nouvelles sur les hommes d'affaires italiens au moyen âge,' *Annales*, x, 1955, pp. 76–78.

[124] B. Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, ix, 48. E. Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*, 2a ser., i (Florence, 1839), p. 21; cf. p. 327 and ii, 70, 359. Cf. A. Anzilotti, *La crisi costituzionale della repubblica fiorentina* (Florence, 1912), p. 8.

[125] See the panegyric of B. Dei in Pagnini, *Della decima*, ii (1765), p. 240 seq. M. Pisani, *Un avventuriero del quattrocento* (1923), pp. 86–97. Cf. Sapori, *Studi*, p. 64.

[126] 'Firenze è terra di mercatanzia,' etc.: Ildefonso, *Delizie*, vi, 148. The 'decline' of the Florentine textile industry has still to be properly evaluated and its place in the history of Florentine economy correctly assessed: P. Battara, 'Botteghe e pigioni nella Firenze del '500,' *ASI*, 1937, pp. 11, 27 seq.; A. Sapori, 'Le compagnie italiane in Inghilterra,' *Moneta e credito*, iii (1950), pp. 407–408 (also in *ASI*, 1955, pp. 13–17, and *Relazioni del X Congresso internaz. di scienze storiche* (1955), vi, 846 seq., 862 seq.); R. Romano, 'A Florence au xviie siècle,' *Annales*, vii, 1952, pp. 508–512.

[127] L. Bulferetti for example (following Chabod and Fanfani, and like Barbieri) dates the 'return to the land' from the sixteenth century ('L'oro, la terra e la società. Un interpretazione del nostro Seicento,' *Arch. stor. lombardo*, 1954, p. 21), C. Cipolla rather from the fifteenth century or earlier ('Trends in Italian economic history in the later Middle Ages,' *Ec. hist. rev.*, 1949–1950, pp. 181–184).

There was first the simple desire to possess a country house and estate in land. This no doubt was 'not in the course of nature,'[131] but it was an ambition none could resist. The possession of castles or *ville* to which great families could periodically retire for pleasure or to organise political resistance is a commonplace of Italian municipal history. Of the Florentines, the Venetian ambassador observed in 1527 that 'they have this weakness, that they go about the world to make a fortune of 20,000 ducats and then spend 10,000 on a palace outside the city.'[132] This was not new in the sixteenth century nor even in Dante's day; Dante himself deplores the practice,[133] and after him a long line of writers describe the villa landscape of the Florentine *contado* and the custom, particularly among magnate families, of spending summer months in the country. It was also during Dante's lifetime that the first essays in agronomic literature appeared which with works in praise of country life became generally popular in the sixteenth century.[134] All over Tuscany the *curtis* of the feudal past was emerging transformed in the country 'casa da signore' or the more pretentious towered villa and *palatium* of the urban landlord, set beside the dwellings of his tenants (the ‘case da lavoratore).[135] Few *ricordanze* fail to mention them, and all the families ‘new’ and ‘old’ whose diaries have been noticed here possessed what Francesco Datini called a ‘nest.’[136] Already before 1260 the ownership of town and country palaces is plainly characteristic of the upper classes generally and not simply the feudal families of Florence.[137] The fortified country-house—*domus murata*, *casa turris*, or *palatium*—was taking its place beside the older ‘palaces’ or ‘towers’ established inside walled *castella*. These in turn were changing as their feudal lords ecclesiastical and lay bought up the lots within *castella* to plant new palaces and castles.[138] Merchant families soon joined or displaced the old, acquiring or building castles of their own, which in the course of generations were converted into villas.[139] The fourteenth century villa was still partly fortified, like the French *manoir*, and with good reason;[140] but it was no less a mark of social elevation. The Peruzzi had a villa built at Baroncelli; they also bought and crenellated a country palace of the Mozzi; but they were proud as well to own the ruined *castellare* of Baroncelli for the honour (‘orevolezza’) it conferred.[141]

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[128] Florence Edler de Roover, *l.c.*, p. 75. No attempt can be made here to quote the wide variety of figures illustrating Florentine business profits (of the Peruzzi, Alberti and so on) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

[129] Corsani, *l.c.*, p. 5, no. 1; E. Bensa, *Fr. di Marco da Prato* (Milan, 1928), pp. 136, 271-272; R. de Roover, *l.c.*, p. 41; Sapori, *Studi*, p. 109.

[130] Rodolico, *l.c.*, pp. 147–149 (partly from the *ricordanze*, etc., of Fr. di Palla Strozzi, Paolo Sassetti, and Paliano Falcucci, of whom the last two were business men). There is no space here to enquire how representative such examples may be; but it can be noted that in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the return from land was normally reckoned at 4 to 6 per cent. (Canestrini, *l.c.*, pp. 27, 33, Bensa, *l.c.*, pp. 271–272; cf. Ottokar, *l.c.*, p. 169, etc.), by the Florentine *catasto* of 1427 at 7 per cent., but by the *decima* of the late fifteenth century at 5 per cent. again, while a tax proposal of the early sixteenth century, though accepting this, adds that 'la maggior parte de' beni del nostro contado si stimino a quattro per cento' (Canestrini, pp. 461–462). It is not therefore surprising that the Peruzzi, Alberti, or Del Bene drew higher profits from trade than land (Sapori, *Studi*, pp. 263–264, 270, 696; Luzzatto, 'Per la storia dell'economia rurale in Italia nel sec. xiv,' *Hommage à L. Febvre*, ii (Paris, 1952), p. 108). A more tempting opportunity of speculation was offered by government securities, to obtain which in one period (1358 seq.) men sold up both businesses and land (M. Villani, viii, 71; Stefani rub. 883; Rodolico, *l.c.*, pp. 134 seq., 283 seq.; in 1367 Carlo Strozzi & Co. had *Monte* investments yielding 28⅔ per cent.: *ricordanze* of Rossello di Rosso, fol. 6*v*); they circulated often at very low quotations (Stefani rub. 727, Rodolico, p. 271, Bensa, pp. 190, 273; Sapori, *Studi*, pp. 110, 414–418; *ricordanze* of Luca da Panzano, fols. 75*r*, 81*v*, 82*r*; cf. n. 14 *supra*) and were still evidently a favourite investment in 1500 (Guicciardini, *l.c.*, 204; Anzilotti, *l.c.*, p. 19). For exactly parallel developments at Venice see Luzzatto, 'Sull' attendibilità di alcune statistiche economiche medievali,' *Giorn. degli economisti* (1929), pp. 127 n. 2, 129, 132.

[131] H. J. Habakkuk, 'Daniel Finch, 2nd earl of Nottingham, his house and estate,' *Studies in social history*, ed. J. H. Plumb (London, 1955), p. 171.

[132] Alberti, *l.c.*, i, 23.

[133] This at least seems implied in *Paradiso*, xv, 109 (cf. Bensa, p. 236). G. Villani is quite explicit in condemning Florentine extravagance in building country houses: xi, 94 (1336–1338); for the early history of the *ville* cf. Sapori, *Studi*, p. 65.

[134] I. Giglioli, 'Dante e l'agricoltura del suo secolo,' *Giorn. dantesco*, vii, 1899, p. 204; C. Grayson, 'Studi su L. B. Alberti,' *Rinascimento*, iv, 1953, p. 45 seq.; Barbieri, *l.c.* Cf. remarks of Paolo da Certaldo, *supra*, p. 198..

Whether agriculture was as much affected as the aspect of the countryside by these villa-building families is not clear. It cannot be assumed that they were more methodical or harsh than landlords in the past,[142] but the evidence, not least of *ricordanze*, does imply an active interest in exploiting and improving the land, if no changes may be proved in agricultural technique.[143] On large estates *castaldi* or factors were employed,[144] but it does not seem that management was left irresponsibly to them.[145] The estate-accounts of Nofri di Palla Strozzi, who employed a factor, indicate careful and energetic supervision by the landlord.[146] Smaller men dealt only with their tenants, who Paolo da Certaldo advised should be called to town for settling accounts, since in the country the landlord's bargaining position would be weaker.[147]

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[135] Typical examples among hundreds are the properties acquired by Sir John Hawkwood which included a *podere* near Florence‘ cum domibus altis et bassis cum logia columbaria giardino stabulis muratis pro domino, cum duabus domibus pro laboratoribus separatis una ab alia,’ and a ‘resedium’ near Poggibonsi ‘cum domibus turri terris,’ etc., and a ‘palactium’ in the same locality: F. Dini, ‘La Rocchetta di Poggibonsi e Gio. Acuto,’ *Misc. stor. della Valdelsa*, v, 1893, pp. 14–21.

[136] *Lettere di un notaio*, i, 116; cf. p. 130 where ser Lapo teases him about his fine ambition to build a country house, calling him ‘Sir Count.’

[137] Ildefonso, *Delizie*, vii, 203 seq. Typical are the Bardi with houses in town and ‘tres turres et unum palatium et tres domos,’ etc., in the *popolo* of S. Cristoforo de Enticia: *ibid.*, pp. 209, 210, 213.

[138] Plesner, *l.c.*, p. 10 seq., who gives as one example, from its aspect to-day, the castle of Panzano, where the *ricordanze* of Luca di Matteo do in fact show his early fourteenth century ancestors buying up houses, etc., inside the walls; there was a family *palagio* outside the walls of which Luca sold his portion, preferring to build an ‘abituro’ within: fols. 50*v*, 99*v*, 170*v*–172*r*; Carnesecchi, p. 164, no. 1. Lapo da Castiglionchio still had a ‘Torre’ and ‘corte’ in the *castello* of Castiglionchio as well as a *palagio* at Garullo: *ricord.*, f. 15*r*, 15*v*, and *ricord.* of his sons, 80, f. 14*r*.

[139] Examples of this transformation seem to be the castles, later villas at Castiglioni, Botinaccio, Montegufoni, Montespertoli, Lucardo and Lucignano, of which the first four had passed from feudal families to the Frescobaldi, Acciaiuoli, and Machiavelli: M. Nardi-Dei, *Monografia storica di Montespertoli* (Florence, 1873), pp. 18, 39, 47, 49, 55–60. Cf. also Patzak, *Palast u. Villa in Toscana*, i (Leipzig, 1912), p. 78, 100, 108 and figs. 85, 110, 137–139; G. Carocci, *Dintorni di Firenze* (Florence, 1906), passim.

[140] Patzak, i, 72 seq., passim.

[141] *Libri di commercio dei Peruzzi*, ed. A. Sapori (Milan, 1934), pp. 450, 479–482, 502, 503, 504, etc. (the Baroncelli villa still stands: Patzak, i, 77–78 and figs. 81–84). The Cerchi too had properties (at Remole) ‘loco dicto al Chastellare’: Davidsohn, *Forsch.*, iii, 315; cf. Carocci, i, 30–31. Of the Alberti, Sapori says they acquired land more than anything to support their social condition: ‘Gli Alberti,’ p. 188; *Libri Alberti*, p. xliii.

[142] Bulferetti, *l.c.*, p. 30, no. 48.

[143] Lapo da Castiglionchio owned a copy of Crescenzio (*ricord.* of his sons, 80, f. 4*r*), but Crescenzio's teaching was essentially based on the Roman agronomists: G. Padovan (G. Luzzatto), ‘Trasformazioni e soppravvivenze nell'Italia agricola del Medioevo,’ *Popoli* (1942), pp. 12, 17.

[144] References are too many to give here; for a year's contract (salary 25 florins) between Strozza di Carlo Strozzi and a factor to administer his lands in the Valdera (1390) see *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 123, fol. 219.

[145] As was evidently the case in the later sixteenth century: Barbieri, p. 275 (where the complaint is also recorded that the money spent on villas rendered no benefits to agriculture).

An interest in farming is suggested by the practice of working some lands, especially vineyards, directly[148] and by the preference shown for *mezzadria*. *Mezzadria* obliged the landlord to play an active part in agriculture; it was in fact less a lease than a form of hiring labour,[149] and was precisely suited to urban families so many of whom were immigrant landowners.[150] The agricultural expenses of *mezzadria* were increased by others, very prominent in *ricordanze*, on building and improvement, with particular care once again for vineyards.[151] The object was to produce for both consumption and the market. There may have been no Florentines so rich in land that they might like certain of the Sienese nobility starve their city of corn, but they could hoard and force up grain prices,[152] and the evidence abounds that sale of produce by landowners great and small was usual. Nofri di Palla Strozzi sold systematically oil, wine, and above all, grain to bakers, millers and corn-dealers of all kinds,[153] and his son Palla was reported to draw from his estates 600 *moggia* (*c.* 14,400 bushels) of grain, which would have fed the whole of Florence for several days.[154] A man was commonly said to consume one bushel (*staio*) of grain a month,[155] but in the greater families the rate was certainly higher. During the year 1314–1315 the families of Giotto and Tommaso Peruzzi consumed about 2,000 bushels of grain, with wine, oil and meat in proportion; much of this was certainly bought, yet Giotto Peruzzi was assiduous in planting vineyards and marketing produce and expressly bought property in Florence for storage and sale of wine.[156] The Frescobaldi even built a villa from the profits of their vineyards.[157] The commercial spirit detected here was present also in other forms of speculation, particularly stock-raising 'a soccida.' In Emilia this was a regular type of capital investment for citizens of all classes;[158] so in certain parts of Tuscany,[159] and the same is suggested of Florence by *ricordanze*.[160]

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[146] *Supra*, n. 95. Supervision could be difficult: see the Florentine statute concerning 'cives florentini habentes terras . . . quas propter loci distantiam nequeunt assidue custodire,' G. Rondoni, *I più antichi frammenti del costituto fiorentino* (Florence, 1882), doc. 34.

[147] *Libro cit.*, p. 93. Cf. L. B. Alberti (with a classical inflection): 'Tua sia l'industria del comandare, de' servi sia opera ubidirti,' Grayson, *l.c.*, p. 51.

[148] Examples are common; from the present *ricordanze* may be noted: *ricord.* of Niccolo Monachi, fol. 62*r*; *libro mastro* of Fr. di Palla Strozzi, fols. 14*r*, 60*r*, 129*r*; *ricord.* of Paliano Falcucci, fol. 77*r*; cf. *Carte Strozz.*, 3a ser., 123, f. 219 (and possibly the Cerchi *ricord.*, 309, fols. 32, 31, etc.; 311 fols. 3*r*, 11*r*, 33*r*). Though debts might be repaid in *opere* (*supra*, n. 21), and though *mezzadri* might render works (Jones, 'Camaldoli,' p. 176), hired labourers were doubtless the rule; hence their prominence in fourteenth century Florentine legislation.

[149] H. Dietzel, 'Ueber Wesen u. Bedeutung des Theilbaus in Italien,' *Zeit. f. d. gesammte Staatswiss.*, xl–xli, 1884–1885.

[150] Plesner, p. 211 seq. Cf. *infra*.

[151] Among the *ricordanze* those of Niccolo Monachi offer a good example: fols. 3*r*, 28; cf. *ricord.* of the Dell'Antella (*supra*, n. 8), Cerchi (309, fol. 32*r*; 310, fol. 31*v*), Paliano Falcucci (fols. 77*r*, 86*v*, etc.). The *Libri dei Peruzzi* are particularly revealing: pp. 33–34, 37, 320, 325, 334, 399, 400, 405–411, 421, 433, 443, 445, 447, 453, 454, 455, 457, 459, 460, 464–465, 469, 472–473, 481, 485, 503, 507–509, 511–512. Typical is B. Pitti who mentions in the same breath his profits from the sale of English wool and the money spent on properties and vineyards: *Cronica* (Florence, 1720), p. 39. Cf. Sapori, *Studi*, p. 60 seq.

[152] Guicciardini, *l.c.*, p. 201. In 1343 Andrea Strozzi raised a popular following in Florence by promising to sell his grain at reduced prices.

[153] See his accounts, *passim.* Nearly all the *ricordanze* mention similar sales and show that crops might be sown and rents varied according to market prices and demand (for example, *ricord.* of Lapo da Castiglionchio's sons, 80, fols. 14*r*, 14*v*). Sales of produce yielded more to Fr. di Palla Strozzi than interest on government stock: *Libro mastro*, fols. 82*r*, 93*v*, 102*v*, 106*v*. Paolo da Certaldo (*Libro*, pp. 124–125) offers advice on methods and seasons for sale.

[154] Marcotti, *l.c.*, pp. 61–62. For Florentine consumption a century earlier, before the Black Death, see G. Villani, xi, 94, *Florentine urbis descriptio* (in G. Frey, *Die Loggia dei Lanzi*, Berlin, 1885, p. 122); and in 1527 see Varchi, ix, 35. The grain rents of Fr. Rinuccini (1378) totalled 188 *moggia* (c. 4,500 bushels): *Ricordi storici*, p. 34 seq.

[155] Thus Varchi, *l.c.* A mid-sixteenth century document declared it normal to estimate '15 staia per bocca' per year: *ASF Conventi soppressi*, 72, vol. 31, fol. 8*v*.

The Florentine 'business class' then, like that of other towns,[161] turned the land and its resources to profitable account. But a further and final motive for acquiring land, as is often pointed out, was its security. The unlimited liability of medieval business firms encouraged investment in land to guarantee their credit and meet the 'subite perdite' that frequently followed the 'subiti guadagni' of trade. The great security of land was already emphasised by medieval writers. Ser Lapo Mazzei in a letter to Francesco Datini reminds him how unstable business profits are, 'here to-day, gone to-morrow,'[162] while L. B. Alberti, M. Palmieri and in general all who touched the subject urged the wisdom of investing in land: 'they were unconscious physiocrats.'[163] It was on land that creditors distrained when, as happened frequently in fourteenth century Florence, firms fell bankrupt. Bankruptcy however brought few families to total ruin; most managed to save a part of their possessions, sometimes like the Antellesi concluding fictitious sales in frustration of their creditors.[164] Bankrupty proceedings always lasted years,[165] and one problem was to trace the bankrupts' lands; to make this possible a description of properties was several times attempted between 1346 and 1358 but had to be abandoned as impracticable.[166] So land was secure enough. All the same, great estates were dismembered by bankruptcy proceedings and much property transferred in this way from one business family to another.[167] As a result, economic and political supremacy changed hands from period to period, until the most enduring families, new and old alike, became united in the landed aristocracy of ducal Tuscany.

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[156] *Libri Peruzzi*, pp. 412, 451, 457, 463, 469, 472–473, 510.

[157] Nardi-Dei, p. 59.

[158] V. Francia, 'Il contratto di soccida nel Bolognese nei secc. xiii e xiv,' *Arch. giurid.*, lxxxvii, 1922, pp. 81–82, 84–90 (the return could be 30 per cent.; cf. p. 227); E. Nasalli-Rocca, 'Soccide e contratti medioevali su bestiame nella regione piacentina,' *Arch. V. Scialoja*, vi, 1939, p. 171.

[159] A. Castellani, *Registro di crediti e pagamenti del maestro Passara di Martino di Cortona* (1315–1337) (Florence, 1949), p. 9; *I conti fratelli Cambio e Giov. di Detaccomando* (Florence, 1948), which shows (pp. 10–11) the return could reach 25 to 35 per cent.

[160] *Ricordanze* of G. Sassetti (*supra*, p. 185), Fil. Cavalcanti (fol. 49*r*; Castellani, pp. 580, 581), P. Sassetti (fols. 29*r*), Luca da Panzano (fol. 3*r*), and accounts of Nofri di Palla Strozzi; cf. *Formularium modernum et universale* (1488), pp. lxxxiii–lxxxiv, Sieveking, p. 104; also p. 195 *supra*.

[161] Thus Genoa: R. L. Reynolds, 'In search of a business class in thirteenth century Genoa,' *Journal of ec. hist.*, suppl. v, 1945, pp. 12–13, 18–19.

[162] 'Ma' fatti vostri sono in iscritture; oggi si, domane no, ec.,' *Lettere*, p. 36.

[163] N. Tamassia, *La famiglia italiana nei secc. xv e xvi* (Palermo, 1910), p. 129, no. 1. Cf. Barbieri, p. 150. The argument was scarcely new (cf. Cato, *De agricultura*, pref.) and occurs all over Europe: Lopez, 'Italian leadership,' p. 67, no. 8.

[164] Sapori, *Studi*, pp. 95, 276; 'Il quaderno dei creditori di Taddeo dell' Antella e compagni,' *Riv. Biblioteche Archivi*, N.S., iii, 1925, p. 161. Sapori acquits the Peruzzi of using this device, but as early as 1348 and 1349 they were buying *poderi* again: *Codice dip. dantesco*, no. 190; *ASF Deposito Peruzzi dei Medici*: 1.4.1349.

[165] G. Masi, 'Fra savi e mercanti suicidi del tempo di Dante,' *Giorn. dant.*, xxxix, 1936, pp. 211–212. In 1357, long after bankruptcy proceedings had been begun, Jacopo Acciaiuoli, when listing in his will his various farms, explains that creditors may still distrain on them: *ASF Diplomatico, Certosa*, 22.3.1356–1357.

[166] M. Villani, iv, 84, v, 74; Canestrini, pp. 72–75. The case of the Scali-Amieri bankruptcy (1326, etc.), illustrates the difficulty of tracing land: A. Grunzweig, 'Les fonds de la Mercanzia aux archives de Florence,' *Bull. Inst. hist. belge de Rome*, xiv, 1934, pp. 32–33.

[167] Thus the Strozzi acquired land at various times from the bankrupt Mozzi, Amieri, Cocchi, Bonaccorsi and Antellesi, and (just before their bankruptcy) from the Peruzzi.

In this process the fourteenth century cannot be said to represent a decisive stage. A landowning merchant class was neither new in 1300 nor peculiar to Florence or to Italian cities generally. The urge of business families to invest increasingly in land belongs to all times and places and at Florence may be traced in every age.[168] In this sense the 'return to land' was continual and prompts the further question how far the land had ever been abandoned? Disregarding local variation it might be urged that in north and central Italy generally the typical figure remained at all times the landowner; not the Bardi or Medici, Pepoli or Bentivoglio, but the Scaligeri, Visconti, Estensi or Malatesta were most representative of their society. Yet even these great families did not always disdain to trade, for the link of land and trade was traditional and close in Italy, where the landowning *negotiator* was far older than the commune,[169] where commercial and landed investments were combined—most obviously at Genoa and Venice—from the earliest time, and where the frequent origin of merchant capital and merchant enterprise in landowning families great and small, old-established or newly immigrant, is plainly indicated.[170]

At Florence, merchant origins are more difficult to trace than in certain towns. The twelfth century consular aristocracy was already composite, as in other communes, admitting merchants as well as *milites* to office. After 1200 in the struggle of nobility and *popolo* the merchant families of many towns—those pursuing 'noble' trade in Lapo's sense—were doubtful in their sympathies and consequently classed as magnates. Nearly half the town-dwelling *grandi* of Florence were merchants,[171] but not all of these were *gente nuova*: of the 51 ancient families named by Villani, 15, and of the 114 or so ancient families named by Malespini, 52 at least can be shown to have shared directly in trade or banking.[172] The other merchant *grandi* (Cerchi, Bardi, Frescobaldi, etc.), were 'new' and probably belonged to the great class of migrants from the country who, whether lords like the Alberti or Franzesi or tenants like the Niccolini, had land already but sought enrichment in the town. Their final aim it has been said was simply to increase the family property;[173] if so, many were successful, which often makes it hard to distinguish the ancient lands of a family from the new.[174]

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[168] A law (a. 1784) of Pietro Leopoldo provides for 'quei denarosi trafficanti che vogliono investire i loro capitali in beni stabili': G. and E. Poggi, *Saggio di un trattato teorico-pratico sul sistema livellare*, i (Florence, 1842), p. 227.

[169] For example, A. Visconti, 'Ricerche sul diritto pubblico milanese nell'alto Medio Evo,' *Annali R. Univ. di Macerata*, iii, 1928, p. 102 seq.; 'Negotiatores de Mediolano,' *ibid.*, 1929, and 'Note per la storia della società milanese,' *Arch. stor. lombardo* (1934); C. Violante, *La società milanese nell'età precomunale* (Bari, 1953), pp. 41 seq., 115 seq. Sieveking says: 'Kaufmännische Grundbesitz ist keineswegs immer dadurch zu erklären, das ein Grundherr Kaufmannschaft treibt, sondern häufiger dadurch dass ein Kaufmann seiner Gewinn in Grundstücken anlegt' ('Der Kaufmann im Mittelalter,' *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, lii, 1928, p. 1037); in Italy only the early law of Aistulf (c. 3, a. 754) seems to define the *negotiantes* as a *class* without land, but cf. Violante, pp. 44–45, 127 seq.

[170] See particularly for Genoa and Venice: H. Sieveking, 'Die kapitalist. Entwicklung in den ital. Städten d. Mittelalters,' *VSWG*, vii, 1909, p. 73 seq.; M. Merores, 'Der venezianische Adel,' *ibid.*, xix, 1926, p. 229; G. Luzzatto, 'Les activités économiques du patriciat vénétién,' *Annales*, ix, 1937, pp. 25–57; R. Lopez, 'Aux origines du capitalisme genois,' *ibid.*, pp. 429–454, and *Studi sull'economia genovese* (Turin, 1936), p. 207 seq.; V. Vitale, 'Vita e commercio nei notai genovesi dei secc. xii e xiii,' *Atti Soc. Ligure di S.P.*, lxxii, 1949, pp. 27 seq., 92; E. Bach, *La cité de Gênes au xiie siècle* (Copenhagen, 1955), p. 57 seq.; for Bologna: G. Gozzadini, *Delle torri gentilizie di Bologna* (Bologna, 1880), *passim*; for Siena: A. Lisini, 'Notizie genealogiche della famiglia Piccolomini, *Misc. stor. senese*, iii–v (1895–1898); A. Sayous, 'Dans l'Italie, à l'intérieur des terres,' *Annales*, iii, 1931, p. 193, seq.; G. Cecchini, 'Il castello delle quattro torri,' *Bull. Sen. di S.P.*, lv, 1948, p. 6 seq.; V. Petroni, 'Un doc. ined. sul beato Petrone Petroni,' *ibid.*, 1949, pp. 133–134. Cf. J. Lestocquoy, *Les villes de Flandre et d'Italie* (Paris, 1952), pp. 44–50, 87–102, etc.; 'Fils de riches ou nouveaux riches?', *Annales*, i, 1946, pp. 139–153. Though the complaint against *gente nuova* recurs from period to period both in Florence and other towns, the distinction of new and old families was soon forgotten and the opposition of landowning and merchant families, so common in northern towns, is not characteristic of Italy.

[171] Davidsohn calculates 33 out of 73; *Geschichte*, ii (2), pp. 474–477.

Most families preserved some tradition of their origins: the Pitti and Velluti claimed to come from Semifonte, the Niccolini from Passignano, the Morelli from Mugello and so on.[175] As these examples show, such traditions were already formed by the fourteenth century and certainly combined much fact with fable. Giovanni Morelli, starting to write in 1393 the history of his family, explains that 300 years before they were settled at S. Cresci in Valcava. All that can be proved is that in the fourteenth century some of them bought land and held *livelli* of the bishop there, and that Giovanni himself had a deep affection for Mugello.[176] He tenderly describes its castles and villas, its great fertility, its dancing feasting country folk, its 'boschetti acconci per diletto' where one may safely walk barefoot; idyllic detail is not spared. The Morelli had risen through the *arte della lana*, which they combined with banking, trade in cloth, and money-lending in the country to 'peasants and poor men.' They continued members of the wool guild to the sixteenth century, but this is no proof of active trade;[177] Giovanni's own brother, though belonging to the guild, preferred to live 'iscioperato' and never earned a farthing by trade.

Giovanni himself was a merchant and in the words of advice to his family expresses unambiguously the spirit of his age. He was a good Guelf, favoured the 'buoni mercanti,' and preached political conformity. In trade he urged honesty and caution and above all personal attention to management; riches would follow, but riches should never be displayed, still less declared for taxation. A wise man would always challenge his tax-assessment and complain that trade was bad. He would also say his farms were not producing, for every man, Giovanni assumed, would have estates in the country, spending part of each year in *villeggiatura*. All crops would be sold above the minimum needed in the home and the citizen would attend as carefully to his lands as to his business, dealing circumspectly with his tenants (*mezzadri*). If his sons should show no inclination to trade, then he must buy them land near Florence to support them in their idleness.

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[172] Many more were related by marriage to merchant families: G. Villani, iv, 10–13, Malespini, pp. 50 seq., 89 seq.; cf. n. 25 *supra* and Roon Bassermann, *l.c.* Villani notes that a further 12 of his 51 families were decayed or extinct; still others had gone into permanent exile where, like the Uberti, they took up trade: Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, iii, 522, iv (2), pp. 205, 457–458; R. Renier, *Liriche ed. e ined. di Fazio degli Uberti* (Florence, 1883), p. cxvii seq.

[173] Plesner, pp. 197–198, 210. Cf. Guicciardini (*l.c.* p. 214): 'se al mercatante o al danaroso è proibito el comperare quantità di possessione ed assicurare uno stato fermo a' suoi figliuoli, già bisogna si raffreddi la voglia di fare mercatantie,' etc.; to buy land is 'uno di quegli fini per li quali e' mercatanti sogliono travagliare.'

[174] *Supra*, n. 39.

[175] Velluti, *l.c.*; B. Pitti, *l.c.*; G. Morelli, *Cronica* in *Istoria Fiorentina* of R. Malespini, *cit.*, and *supra*, p. 193.

[176] G. Morelli (pp. 227, 232), though ascribing high antiquity to his family, implies that the first to bear the name Morello was born about 1250; Ildefonso (and other later genealogists) says the name was much older, but all he shows is the existence earlier of men with this name whom he arbitrarily relates together and to the M. family: *Della istoria geneal. della nobilissima famiglia dei M.*, *Delizie*, p. xix.

[177] *Delizie*, *l.c.*; cf. Doren, *l.c.*, i, 162. For one Morelli in England in the fifteenth century, see A. A. Ruddock, *Italian merchants and shipping in Southampton*, 1270–1600 (Southampton, 1951), pp. 74, 98–105, 122–123, etc.

This is the advice and this the outlook of the fourteenth century Florentine. Engaged in trade, engaged in agriculture, engaged in politics and office, he is a man of business in them all, though ready enough to praise the consolations of philosophy, recommend pious reading, and uphold the example of 'nostri padri signori Romani che come da loro siamo discesi, per essenzia, così dismostrassimo in virtù, e in sustanzia.'[178]

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[178] G. Morelli, *l.c.*, pp. 217–279 passim.

THE FRESCOES OF CREMONA CATHEDRAL

(Plates XXVI–XXX)

THE cathedral of Cremona in its basic structure is the work of the twelfth century, of the rebuilding undertaken by Bishop Uberto Dovara after the original church was destroyed in the great earthquake of 1117. By 1190 the new cathedral was consecrated, and the neighbouring octagonal baptistery, begun in 1167, was also well advanced. But for some three centuries the citizens constantly sought to improve and embellish their work. In 1250 the commune raised the great campanile, the highest and noblest in Lombardy, and its octagonal spire commemorates the triumph of the Guelfs in 1267. The great rose window is dated by an inscription to 1274. In the following century the porch was added with the three statues of the Virgin and Child between the local patrons, St. Omobono and St. Imerio. In 1491 the façade was terminated by a lofty pediment, supported by two great volute scrolls, and enclosing four statues in niches. A gallery, connecting the façade with the Baptistery, was added in the first half of the sixteenth century, and the statues crowning it date from 1738. Few works so composite have such a satisfactory unity of effect, and here the varied contributions reflect varying fashions in taste without marring the spirit of the whole, which retains much of its Romanesque firmness of outline and emphasis on solidity. Such an achievement suggests a city alert in its aesthetic reactions and sensitive in its relating of old and new designs. And such, in the very full collections of documents that survive, Cremona is shewn to have been. This article is concerned with one short period of these activities when, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, many of the stylistic changes of the time and their underlying emotions were reflected with clarity and intensity in the scheme for frescoing the cathedral.

Within the cathedral the roof of the choir and transepts had been decorated in the mid-fourteenth century with biblical scenes painted in roundels, some of which, scenes from the story of Joseph, still survive in the south transept and are worthy of more study than they have yet received.[1] A Virgin and Child, dated 1370 and much repainted, remains high up on the northern side of the apse, possibly part of another decorative scheme, of which there are some further fragments in the Civic Museum. Bonifacio Bembo and Pantaleone de Mazzolis received a payment for the ancona for the high altar in 1467, and it is possible that Bembo, much patronised by the Sforza, carried out other works for the cathedral.[2] The close of the century, however, saw Cremona passing into a new sphere of influence. In alliance with the French, the Venetians occupied the city in 1499. In the following January, the Venetian senate decreed that, the bishopric being vacant, its revenues should be set aside for the decoration of the cathedral, and this decree continued to be enforced during a dispute between Venice and Ascanio Sforza over the episcopal appointment till 1507.[3] In the following year the League of Cambrai threatened the Venetian hold on these new territories, and in 1509, after the battle of Agnadello, Cremona passed under French control. It was in this brief period of peaceful and prosperous Venetian rule that a new scheme of frescoing the cathedral was undertaken.

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[1] Luigi Lucchini, *Il Duomo di Cremona* (Mantua, 1894), ii, 7. The paintings are attributed to Polidoro Casella.

[2] For Bonifacio Bembo see M. Salmi, 'Nota su Bonifacio Bembo,' *Commentari*, iv, 1953, pp. 7–15.

[3] Lucchini, *op. cit.*, ii, 27.

The painter selected for the task was Boccaccio Boccaccino, whom the Massarii, the cathedral authorities, paid on 7 December 1507 for painting the *Annunciation* on the arch of the choir.[4] Previously, for it is signed and dated 1506, he had painted the great fresco of the apse showing Christ in Majesty, with on his right hand St. Imerio and St. Omobono, on his left St. Peter and St. Marcellino (Pl. XXVI, *a*). The early stages of Boccaccino's career are uncertain.[5] He came of Cremonese stock, but his father Antonio received Ferrarese citizenship and Ferrarese influences are strong in his early work, such as the *Road to Calvary* in the National Gallery (Pl. XXX, *a*). The hard, metallic drapery, the rocky backgrounds recall Ercole Roberti, but without any of the latter's emphatic passion and movement. In feeling it is nearer to the placidity with which Lorenzo Costa could invest even the violent aggressive figures of the Bentivogli family, a placidity which was to reach its greatest fulfilment in the work of Costa's friend and contemporary, Francia. Boccaccino's early work belongs to this curious phase when the Renaissance sense of dignified restraint led to a muting of all emotional expression: the heads are gracefully bowed at a correct angle; the regular features are undisturbed by any passion; in the wide Umbrian landscape these gentle, dull, insipid creatures lead an existence far removed from reality, as though fearing to break in upon their own decorative values. In 1497 Boccaccino was at Milan, at the court of Ludovico il Moro, where the Ferrarese ambassador had to rescue him from prison; back in Ferrara he was in further trouble, where according to one account he murdered his wife, whom he had taken in adultery. In the same year, 1497, he was working at Cremona on a series of frescoes in Sant'Agostino, some heads from which are now in the city's gallery. In 1499 he was in Venice. The Massarii must have known the work already done by him in Cremona; he was a fellow townsman, and at the same time he was in touch with Venice, the new overlord of the city. A skilful exponent of the style fashionable in Ferrara and Bologna, he might be expected to reflect in his work something a little more advanced than the ordinary output of local artists. He painted, Baldinucci wrote, in a style called 'antica moderna':[6] he was, says Lanzi, 'the best modern among the ancients, and the best of the ancients among the moderns.'[7]

The apse fresco, a solemn and dignified design, has little novelty about it. The seated figure of Christ, 5·5 metres high, is serene and noble. His purple robe and blue mantle show the crinkled folds of the Ferrarese tradition, but He is drawn with more solidity and exact proportion than in many works of that school. The four saints, smaller in scale, stand in frontal positions, with little attempt to differentiate their personalities. Intended to dominate the whole church, the fresco fulfils its purpose with considerable competence. The Massarii then decided to decorate the blank spaces above the nave and choir arcades with paintings illustrating the lives of the Virgin and of Christ. A competition was declared in 1509, and some of the local artists protested that insufficient time had been allowed for preparing their entries. Possibly it had already been decided to give the work to Boccaccino, for in November 1509 payments begin to him for painting two bays of the nave. Between December 1509 and April 1514, however, there is no further entry.[8] The new bishop, Girolamo Trevisano, was driven out by the French, and it was not till after the battle of Ravenna (11 April 1512) and the coming of more settled times that work could be renewed. On 12 April 1514, Boccaccino received a further payment for the two westernmost bays on the north side of the nave. Each bay contained two scenes and Boccaccino painted in all eight scenes (four bays): the *Angel appearing to Joachim*, the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, the *Birth of the Virgin*, the *Marriage of the Virgin*, the *Annunciation*, the *Visitation*, the *Nativity*, and the *Circumcision*.[9] They are the work of a fully developed and individual painter. It is easy to find faults in them. The draperies are often exaggerated and swollen; the round, hooded faces of the women are curiously monotonous; the perspective is often faulty and his landscapes and architectural settings, ambitious though they are, give little sense of space to the straight line of figures placed in their foregrounds. But the frescoes have considerable charm: here and there passages are brushed in vigorously with telling effect, and, within a limited convention, a fresh invention is brought to the narration of the familiar stories. The Ferrarese influences are still predominant. The landscape scenes recall those of Costa, Francia and Aspertini in the frescoes of St. Cecilia at Bologna; but the pastoral woodland in which the angel speaks to Joachim has a fuller treatment, a greater importance in the painting as a whole, some faint echo of the Giorgionesque. The development of this Venetian feeling for landscape can be seen in his *Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Accademia at Venice. St. Catherine herself is almost a repetition in pose of the kneeling woman in the *Road to Calvary*, but her richer garments fall in softer folds, the modelling throughout has a greater delicacy, and the figures merge into the background with a fluency far removed from the hard contrasts of his earlier work. It seems likely that this example of the Venetian theme of the *Sacra Conversazione* comes from a Venetian visit between 1507 and 1509, the two first stages of the work at Cremona. There is also a new interest in architecture. The marriage of the Virgin takes place at the foot of a flight of steps leading to a coffered portico framed in pillars set on high rounded drums, and the elaborate architecture of the *Circumcision* (Pl. XXVI, *b*) shows capitals with spreading scroll volutes, and again a high base, though here rectangular, to the central pillar. There are elements of fantasy, but they come from an imagination stirred by recent buildings in Milan and Venice.

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[4] Sacchi, *Notizie Pittoriche Cremonensi*, 1872, p. 180.

[5] For Boccaccino see G. Zaist, *Notizie Istoriche de' Pittori cremonesi* (Cremona, 1874), i, 63–90; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, vii, 3, 1914, pp. 723–728; vii, 4, 1915, pp. 671–676; and A. Puerari, *La Pinacoteca di Cremona* (Cremona, 1951), pp. 111–115.

[6] *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in Qua* (Florence, 1728), iii, 199.

[7] *The History of Painting in Italy* (trans. T. Roscoe, 1847), ii, 423.

The North too makes its contribution. It has often been suggested that the sharply articulated drapery and the general grouping of the figures reflect influences from Dürer. Certainly the *Angel appearing to Joachim*, the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, and the *Birth of the Virgin* all seem based on Dürer's woodcuts of the Life of the Virgin, which appeared as a completed set in 1511 but had been known as separate sheets some years earlier. The life of the Virgin, so popular a theme in the trecento, had as a continuous series lost favour in the quattrocento. It would be extremely probable that Boccaccino, on receiving the commission, would consult the recently appeared woodcuts, which were undoubtedly well known in Northern Italy. Much in them was little to his purpose, too homely and unclassical. The great sweeping figures of his angel and Virgin in the *Annunciation* are an exact antithesis of Dürer's slightly grotesque couple. The same is true of the *Visitation*, though here Boccaccino has retained some Northern elements in the landscape. The *Birth of the Virgin* (Pl. XXVII, *a*, *b*), which in Dürer has comic elements such as the woman drinking in the foreground, in Boccaccino is much more restrained and dignified, and the centre is held, not by a maid with a jug, but by two tall majestic figures in elaborately ornamented robes; the disposal of the figures, however, is notably similar and belongs at least to a common iconographical tradition.

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[8] Sacchi, *Notizie*, pp. 180–181.

[9] A. Monteverdi, *Su la vita di Maria dipinta a fresco dal Boccaccino nel duomo di Cremona* (Cremona, 1910).

Between March 1516 and December 1518 there is a pause in Boccaccino's work in the cathedral. The frescoes were continued by two Cremonese artists, Giovanni Francesco Bembo and Altobello Melone.[10] A part payment was made to Bembo in December 1515 for the painting in the fifth bay. Little is known of this artist. Vasari calls him 'il Vetraio'[11] and states that he worked with Polidoro da Caravaggio in Rome and died young. His latest known work, signed and dated 1524, shows strong Raphaelesque influences, and already in the frescoes there are borrowed poses which suggest that he had seen the Vatican stanze. In the *Adoration of the Kings* and the *Presentation*, the architectural perspective is superior to anything as yet achieved by Boccaccino, but the figures are wooden and hard, the features and hands ill drawn, and some crude hatching gives no sense of modelling. The designs are well conceived, but the execution is rude and in places uncouth, though his conceptions, both of grouping and character, have a certain boldness of invention, a violence of statement that is entirely removed from the placidity of Boccaccino. The head of one of the Magi (Pl. XXVII, *c*) a sulky, farouche youth bordering on caricature, is typical of these disquieting elements which were to be deepened and enlarged by his successor in the frescoes of the following bays.[12]

In the contract signed on 11 December 1516 with Altobello Melone, the Massarii specifically state that the frescoes must be deemed finer than those of Boccaccino, this to be decided by two judges, one appointed by the Massarii, one by Altobello himself. If not so deemed, they could require the painter to remove them at his own expense. The first of the bays contains the *Flight into Egypt* (Pl. XXVIII, *c*) and the *Massacre of the Innocents*. Exact details were laid down in the contract: in the *Flight* the robbers[13] who met the Holy Family were to be shown, and the dragons, beasts and birds who came to do reverence to them: in the *Massacre* were to be shown 'terrified, dishevelled women and the various cruelties wrought on the children.' These instructions were faithfully followed and the *Flight* is full of details borrowed from the aprocryphal stories. In the far distance the horsemen of Herod can be seen misdirected from the route; a lion and a bear bow down before the Christ child; two armed men, one of them traditionally Dismas, the penitent thief of the Crucifixion, emerge from a wood; a palm bows down its leaves towards the Christ child; Mary and Joseph are accompanied in their flight by a maidservant, who carries two dead fowls slung over her shoulder, a character for whom none of the narratives seems to give authority.

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[10] Sacchi, *Notizie*, pp. 181–186.

[11] *Vita di Polidoro da Caravaggio*.

[12] For Bembo see Ferdinando Bologna, 'Altobello Melone,' *Burlington Magazine*, xcvii, 1955, pp. 240–250. Melone, having been long neglected, has recently been the subject of several articles. Bologna has investigated the origins of his style in the above article and in 'The Cremonese ceiling from Via Belvedere', *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, pp. 166–171: there is an important article by L. Grassi, 'Ingegno di Altobello Melone,' *Proporzioni*, iii, 1950, pp. 142–163: see also F. Zeri in *Paragone*, xxxix, 1953, pp. 40–44, and A. Puerari, *La Pinacoteca di Cremona*, 1951, p. 125.

[13] The contract has 'guardie,' the exact meaning of which in this context is uncertain. See for the legends: E. Mâle, *L'Art réligieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (1923), p. 121.

Melone was probably at this time a young and comparatively unknown artist. A *Road to Calvary*,[14] now in the Cremona Museum and only a battered fragment as a result of war damage, shows in photographs of its undamaged state strong Ferrarese influences, though here the hard drapery and angular poses reflect the vehemence of Ercole Roberti more accurately, if less skilfully, than does the quiet passivity of Boccaccino's version. The *Pietà* in the Brera, another early work, has common ground with Romanino, a painter with whom Melone seems to have been constantly in touch; and the *Resurrection* borrows a Northern scheme from an engraving by Dürer.[15] But with the opportunity of working in fresco he adopted a bolder, freer manner. His designs are anti-classical in their lack of balance and centralisation; his horrors of the *Massacre* have a barbaric, Northern grotesqueness; the wind-blown angel of the *Flight*, vaguely Leonardesque in features and pointing hand, recalls Lotto in its disturbed, billowing drapery. Out of the varying influences around him he evolved a highly individual treatment of his allotted subjects.

Despite the novelty of approach, the two paintings pleased and on the 13 March 1517, Altobello was entrusted with five more subjects: the *Last Supper*, which has to itself the first bay on the south wall of the choir, followed by the *Washing of the Feet* and the *Agony in the Garden* in the next bay, and then the *Capture of Christ* and *Christ before Caiaphas*. In these there is a new, and at times exaggerated intensity of feeling in the expression and gestures. Altobello could not give to his faces the emotions he sought after, and so his violent patterns sometimes end in emptiness. But they tell forcefully from ground level; and their clear, bright colours, strongly contrasted with pink predominating, still arrest the eye. The large smooth folds of drapery make a fine decorative pattern, curiously modern in some of its simplifications. In the *Christ in the Garden* (Pl. XXVII, *d*), the most striking of them all, the figures of Christ and the angel are borrowed from Altdorfer,[16] but the Northern image has been absorbed into a predominantly Italian tradition. The *Last Supper* (Pl. XXVIII, *a*), with its many borrowings from da Vinci, is the feeblest of them, and the placing of two apostles on the near side of the table sacrifices a point of iconography without securing the circular sense of movement at which it aims, but which could never have been satisfactorily accommodated within the receding architectural setting.

Opposite this *Last Supper*, on the northern side of the apse, following on Melone's *Massacre of the Innocents*, Boccaccino painted his last fresco, *Christ amongst the Doctors*

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[14] Reproduced L. Grassi, pl. CLVI, and A. Puerari, *op. cit.*, figs. 147–148.

[15] The *Resurrection* is in a private collection in Rome: for the comparison with Dürer see L. Grassi, *op. cit.*, pls. CLXXVI and CLXXVII. Grassi dates the *Resurrection* c. 1518, Bologna between the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Capture of Christ*.

[16] See F. Zeri, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

(Pl. XXVIII, *b*), which is dated 1518. Vasari has a story that Boccaccino visited Rome 'to see the celebrated works of Michael Angelo.' Vasari's account is clearly ill-informed and garbled : he asserts that Boccaccino made himself ridiculous in Rome by criticising Michael Angelo, and his brief sketch of him is made, as so often in Vasari, into a cautionary tale, in this case a warning not to criticise one's superiors. But if anything lies behind it, Boccaccino's visit must have followed the uncovering of the Sistine ceiling in October 1512, and a Roman journey in 1516 and 1517 may explain one of the gaps in his work at Cremona. Certainly the *Christ and the Doctors* strongly suggests that its painter had seen Raphael's *School of Athens*. The architectual vista of receding arches seems borrowed from it and is much more surely treated than the bay of the Temple shown in his earlier fresco of the *Circumcision*. The scheme of seated figures with standing groups on either side, the pose of Christ himself could well be influenced by Raphael's work. There is a new maturity and competence which gives it first place amongst Boccaccino's contribution to the cathedral decorations. It is also a firmly balanced design, with none of the sweeping movements to be found in Melone's work. If Boccaccino visited Rome, it was the serenity of Raphael that appealed to him, and there is no change from the calm mood of all his earlier works. It was his last fresco in the cathedral, but he was still residing in Cremona in 1524, when he made his will. In December 1525, when an inventory of his belongings was taken, he was no longer alive.[17]

In 1517, in accordance with the terms of the contract, Melone's frescoes were assessed and valued. Of the two assessors one, probably the one chosen by Melone, was Gerolamo Romanino of Brescia, and this painter was now selected to paint the next two bays with four more scenes of the Passion, for which payments were made in 1519 and in 1520. Born about 1485, he had made his name as a young painter at Brescia, but the terrible sack of that city by the French in 1512 had driven him to Padua, where he seems to have been mainly employed previously to his Cremonese commissions.[18] Romanino was a much more accomplished painter than either Bembo or Melone. He had absorbed much of the Giorgionesque style of Venice, and his frescoes have none of the provincial crudities that characterise those of his two predecessors. But his broad use of chiaroscuro, his soft outlines, his rounded, pliant limbs were better suited to the fluidity of oil than to the harder lines of fresco. His liking for rich costumes sometimes blunts the intensity of the tragic scenes he depicts. He was clearly not unaffected by the originality of Altobello's conceptions, but he tones down their vigour and weakens the impact by doing so. His first two scenes, *Christ brought before Pilate* and the *Flagellation*, are decentralised compositions, with in each case the main incident in the right-hand half and much of the visual interest concentrated on non-participating onlookers. But at the narrative focus there is violence enough. The tormentors are brutal types : the soldier leading Christ recalls in his dress the Northern warriors, who to Romanino must have been associated with the horrors of the sack of Brescia. The second bay contains the *Crowning with Thorns* and the *Ecce Homo*. Here Romanino has somewhat changed his method. The foreground figures are larger, more to the scale of those in Melone's frescoes, the light is more evenly diffused, the design balanced and centralised. There had it seems been some dissatisfaction with his work, and three years after the completion of the frescoes Romanino was still claiming that he had not received payment in full for them.[19] The Massarii argued that the pictures had never received a generally favourable verdict, Romanino that they had been praised by Boccaccino. As late as 1540 Romanino (he did not die till 1566) was trying to reopen the case. It is clear that something had not pleased, though if Romanino was right in claiming Boccaccino's approval, opinions must have been divided. Of all the frescoes these have worn least well. The colours are darkened and have lost the subtleties they must originally have had. Perhaps they were always too painterly to tell from their lofty position; the two first designs are too crowded and confused to achieve their effect without close scrutiny. The characters are strikingly individualised, both by gesture and expression, and there is much by-play amongst the onlookers, some compassionate, some brutally enjoying Christ's torment; but this careful analysis cannot be appreciated at a distance. For its position, the *Crowning with Thorns* (Pl. XXVI, *c*) is undoubtedly the most successful, and it conveys a real sense both of horror and pathos. Far more than in any of the previous works these are compositions in depth with the receding space, clearly marked by the architecture, filled with figures. They are in this a complete contrast to the early frescoes of Boccaccino with their lines of figures along the frontal planes.

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[17] Sacchi, *Notizie*, p. 222 ff.

[18] See G. Nicodemi, *Gerolamo Romanino* (Brescia, 1925) and review by R. Longhi in *L'Arte*, xxix, 1926, pp. 144–150. An important article by Mina Gregori, 'Altobello, il Romanino e il cinquecento cremonese,' has recently appeared in *Paragone*, lxix, 1955, pp. 1–28.

Disappointed with the work of Romanino, the Massarii turned to another painter, more famous then and now than any of the others they had employed, and on the 20 August signed a contract with Giov. Antonio de Corticellis for the remaining three bays of the south arcade and the great space above the west doors. Known to-day as Giovanni Antonio Pordenone, he was at this date in his middle thirties and had recently completed his frescoes in the Malchiostro chapel at the cathedral of Treviso, works which revealed a wide knowledge of the art of his time used with a vehemence and originality that are his own. The paintings it was stipulated should not fall below those already done for Paris Ceresari of Mantua on the outside of his house, and were to be executed with the best colours, and the subjects detailed as carefully as with the other artists,[20] though there was no clause requiring a committee of approval. By 9 October, Pordenone had already completed the first bay, and the entry of the payment for it notes that it was praised by almost the whole city and especially praised and commended by the Massarii themselves.[21] The frescoes won in fact such approval that he was commissioned to paint also the *Deposition* below his great *Crucifixion* on the space to the south of the west doorways. By December 1522, little more than two years after the first contract, these huge, crowded works were completed. It is little wonder that other patrons, such as the aforesaid Paris Ceresari, had to complain of delays in the works undertaken for them.[22]

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[19] In 1519 the Massarii made a contract with him for three bays, but only two were painted: Sacchi, *Notizie*, p. 187.

[20] Sacchi, *Notizie*, pp. 273–275. For Pordenone, see G. Fiocco, *G. A. Pordenone* (2nd ed., Padua, 1943): also A. Pettorelli, 'Il Pordenone nella Cattedrale Cremonese,' *Cronache d'Arte* (1925), pp. 157–166, with reproductions of the frescoes before cleaning.

[21] Sacchi, *Notizie*, pp. 188–189.

[22] Fiocco, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

'Pictus Modernus,' the Massarii called him in one of their entries,[23] and in fact these wild turbulent creations were novel and daring in conception, strangely at variance with the placid visions of Boccaccino on the opposite wall. The directions given by the Massarii, 'the crowd of Jews, on foot and on horse, the Virgin's swoon, Veronica with the napkin, the diverse acts and gestures and castle, lands and fine perspectives,' all this might have been and had been translated into solemn, almost unemotional scenes by Boccaccino and others. Those were already old fashioned, but the full fury of Pordenone's treatment could not have been foreseen.

In 1520 Pordenone was thirty-seven years old.[24] He had already given proof of a forceful mind, alert to seize on new ideas, robust and sometimes over-ready in their execution. Born in Friuli, he had received his early training from artists of that somewhat provincial locality. At Venice he had found the influence of Giorgione; then he had visited Rome and there had learned much from Raphael, painting for a lady of the Baglioni family, early patrons of Raphael, a fresco at Alviano which is one of the earliest syntheses of Venetian and Roman painting. Then at Treviso in 1519 he had been called to fresco the Malchiostro chapel in the Duomo. Here it is Michael Angelo rather than Raphael that dominates in the muscular movements and foreshortenings of the *Adoration*, a painting designed in a great movement across the picture space, decentralised in theme, though in design the centre is held by the circular movement of a great cloak and a wide falling sleeve. And in the vault above he treated the dome as one field, not splitting it up by ribs as was the general method, with as yet only rare exceptions such as Melozzo's ceiling in the Feo chapel of San Biagio in Forlì (1490–1495). In a cloud of falling cherubs, God the Father swoops downwards, with arms wide spread, as though the cupola were open and the heavenly visitation plunging through it. Correggio's ascending Christ in the cupola of S. Giovanni Evangelista was to push this further, but Pordenone was already working in Treviso when Correggio began in Parma. The same impulse, for it is unlikely that either knew the other's work, seized on them and led to this great expansion in pictorial design. It is little wonder that Rubens copied this whirling design in the cupola,[25] for this is baroque art, the rendering above all of movement into and out of the picture space. There are strong mannerist elements in Pordenone's work, the disregard of the frame, the absence of centralisation, the strained, over-muscular poses, the strident emotional emphasis, the borrowings from German and other Italian sources; but it is in the composition of movement in depth, the strong propulsion of his figures inward or outward, the winding circular movements of his design that lay his modernity; that and the full-blooded horror and violence that he depicted.

The three last bays of the nave were treated each as a single picture space. It is not clear whether this was intended by the Massarii or whether it was Pordenone's own solution of the problems set him. In the first bay, Pilate washing his hands could have formed one scene, Christ led away another (Pl. XXIX, *a*). But they are linked in a continuous episode; the gesture of the page in the left-hand upper corner, lifting his arm to pour the water on Pilate's hands, is echoed by the bending youth in the right bottom corner, shrinking away from the prancing horse and the raised baton of the centurion. The horse itself leaps forward, out of the picture space; one of the prophets in the roundels below stretches up his hand across the frame to point at Christ. In some of the roundels below the earlier frescoes the prophets are not by the same hand as the main painting, but already Romanino had painted restless figures, stretching out of their circles: now Pordenone makes them almost participants, and in one of his most daring moments, where the cross on which Christ is being nailed projects across the cornice, the prophet below stretches his hand over the beam, while opposite Christ's cloak likewise falls over the frame, and one of the quarrelling soldiers supports himself by leaning down almost to the arch below (Pl. XXIX, *b*).

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[23] 27 August 1521—dealing with repair of the scaffolding for his work.

[24] B. 1483–1484.

[25] *Old Master Drawings*, viii (1933–1944), pl. 46.

Pordenone's second bay shows Veronica with the icon; a small boy points inward to it with his right arm while he bends, with left arm outstretched, towards the spectator. It is a pose typical of these paintings, where the artist is always seeking to create the illusion of rhythms on various planes. In the centre Christ falls beneath the weight of the cross and a half-naked executioner flogs Him with the end of the rope by which he has been leading Him; the flying curve of this rope is the most prominent feature of the design. On the right the Virgin swoons, falling forward towards the spectator. The third bay has on the left two soldiers fighting over Christ's cloak; in the centre a portly brutal-looking soldier standing erect just behind the cornice; on the right Christ is stretched on the cross; beside Him, bending down with a hammer, is a young man whose shirt falls away revealing his naked buttocks. On the west wall is the huge fresco of the *Crucifixion* (Pl. XXVIII, *d*). The moment chosen is that of the earthquake; a great chasm gapes in the forefront; a horse backs away from it in terror; dominating the centre is a mailed and bearded figure that may well be meant for the centurion proclaiming that this is indeed the Son of God, but it seems rather to be a concentrated evocation of a landsknecht, of one of those Northern warriors who had brought havoc, massacre and a new barbarism on the civility of Northern Italy. The crosses are set at angles to the picture plane, and that of the unrepentant thief, whose legs are being savagely broken, is seen half from behind. Amidst the turmoil, the heavy hoods of the women bending over the fainting Virgin form an area of despondent repose.

The final fresco, given to Pordenone after the sensation caused by the completion of his first commission, was the *Deposition* (Pl. XXX, *c*). The scene is set in a feigned wall niche, with a mosaic in the semi-dome, a Venetian practice used for instance by Giovanni Bellini; Christ lies prone on the ground in a most daring and competently carried out piece of foreshortening. The cloak on which he lies appears to fall over the edge of the niche. It is a tremendous tour de force, and the best preserved of all the frescoes, and in the blue of the semi-dome and orange of the grave cloth still retains some of the colouristic effect, much of which has gone from the frescoes of the bay, though even there large patches of blue and orange repeat one another and hold the design together.

Never before in Italian art had such scenes of turmoil and brutality been represented, and the contemporary costumes give them a documentary appearance, which was certainly intended. This is the woes of Italy reflected in the sufferings of Christ, set down in vehement and passionate protest against man's cruelty. It is suffering unredeemed by spiritual triumph. Pordenone never found the physiognomy for Christ. The paintings flag when they reach the central figure. The expression is that of despairing, corrupting fear, the debasing effect of torment, such as Pordenone may in fact have seen on the face of some victim, but ill fitting the triumph of Christ over all that sin could do unto Him. And the upturned eyes of the mourners in the *Deposition* have a superficial glossy sentiment, which shows no imaginative penetration. Humanism had been outraged, and this is a sensual, realist denunciation of the havoc the wars had wrought. The illusionist power of the artist brings these scenes into the cathedral itself, and the walls cannot contain them. But he could bring no message of hope or consolation with them.

Artistically they are a great and insufficiently appreciated phenomenon in Italian art.[26] Here in Cremona, within twenty years, the placid, balanced restraint of the Renaissance is replaced by these fierce, rushing scenes. The placidity was gone for many a day. Realism by itself however was not enough. Mannerist painting of the mid-sixteenth century was to represent scenes as agitated, but its strangely elongated figures, its fantastic postures were to produce symbols with overtones of meaning that did not concern the indignant, forthright painter who completed the decoration of Cremona. Or all but completed, for there still remained one space opposite the *Deposition*, on the north side of the west door, where in 1529 Bernardino Gatti painted the *Resurrection.* But this scene of triumph, which should be the great climax, is a feeble thing that cannot tell beside the exuberant genius of the Friulan master.

T. S. R. Boase.

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[26] The influence of the whole cycle of frescoes is curiously unmarked in Italian art. But in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, Massachusetts, there are five frescoes, scenes of the Passion, vaguely attributed to Paolo Zoppo, certainly of Brescian provenance, which, although clumsy provincial works, echo the grouping and some of the poses of the Cremonese series and have been affected by it (Pl. XXX, *b*).

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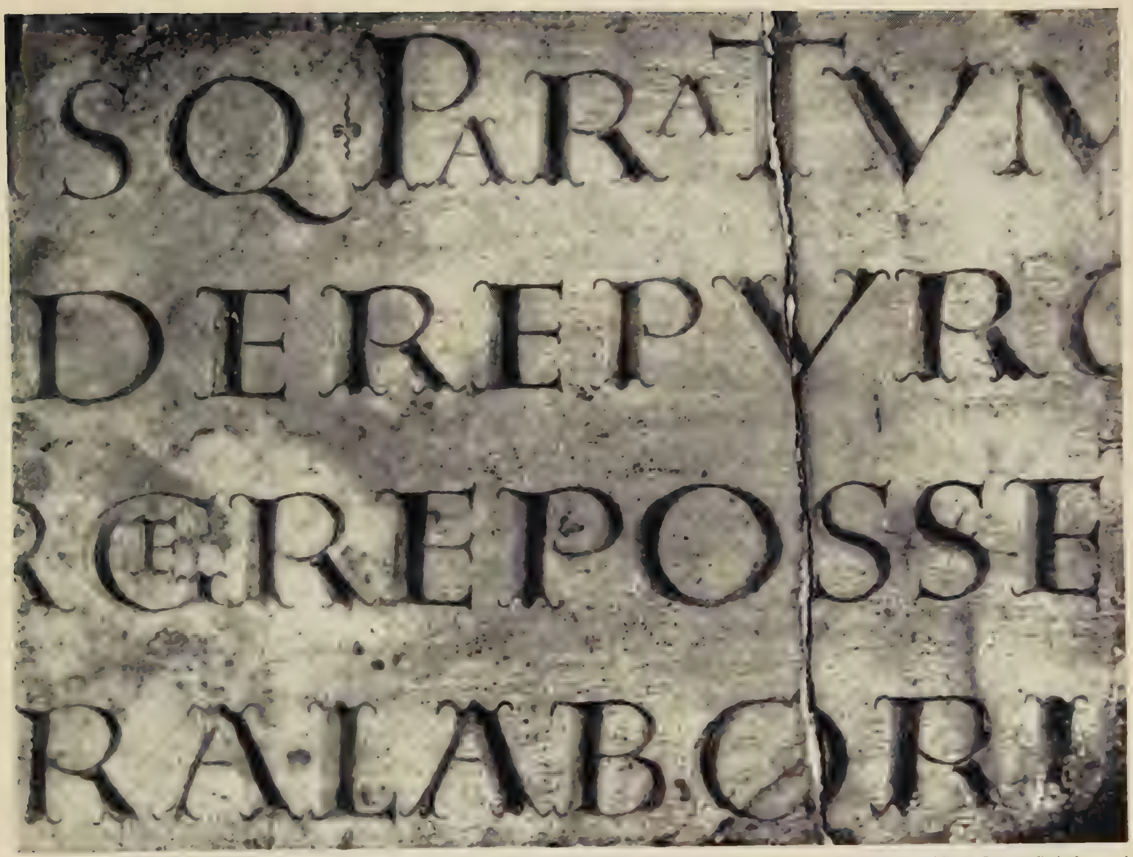
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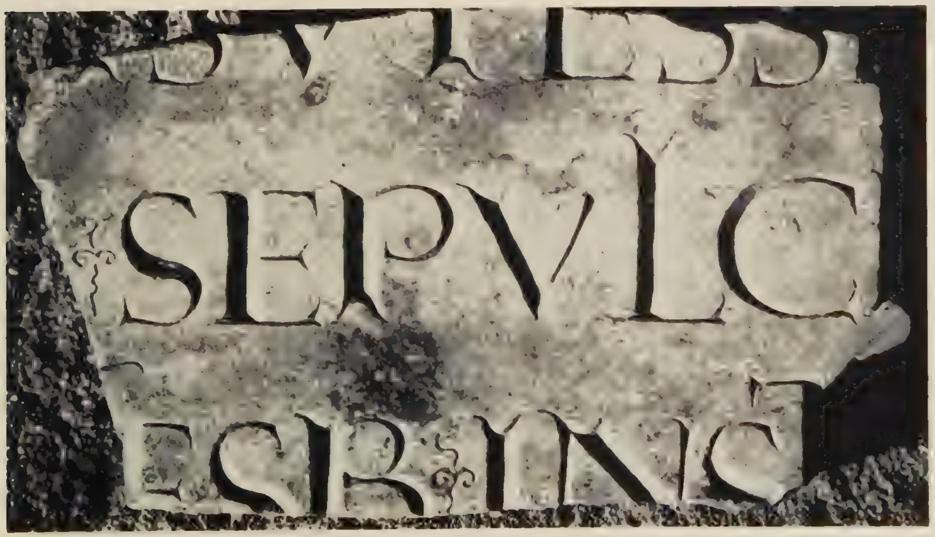
(*Pont. Comm. di Arch. sacra*)

a. Inscription from the Catacomb of San Callisto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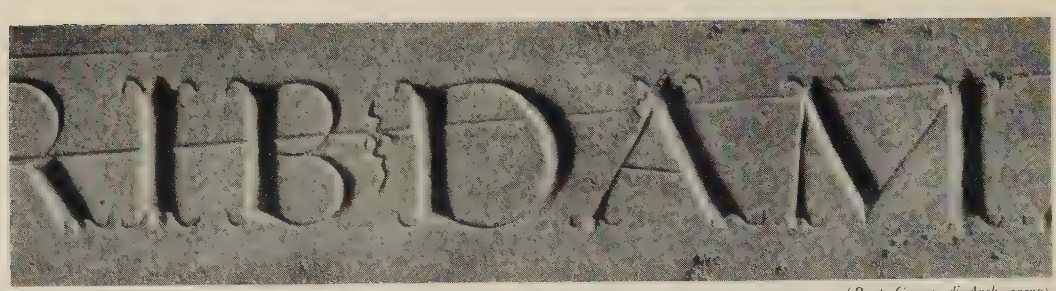
b. Inscription from the Catacomb of San Valentino

The Filocalian Letter (pp. 5–13)



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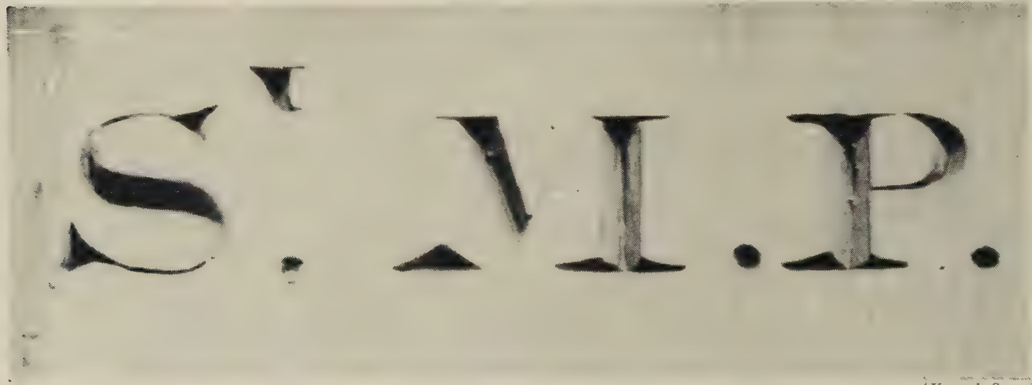
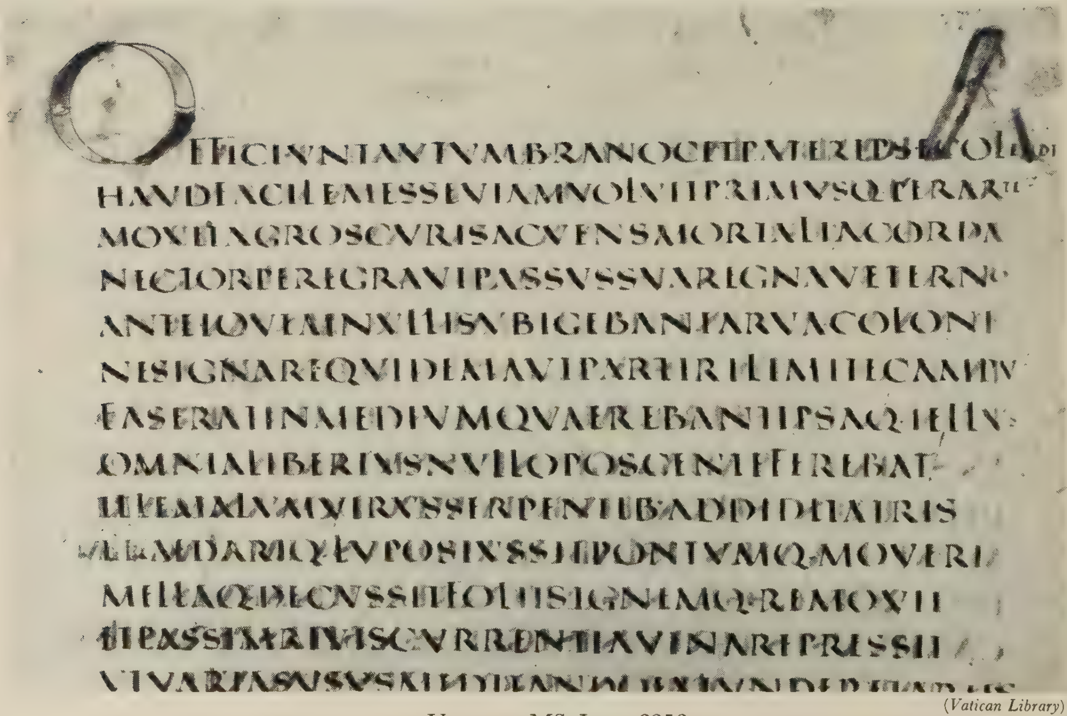
a. Inscription from the Catacomb of Praetextatus



(*Kenneth Storey*)

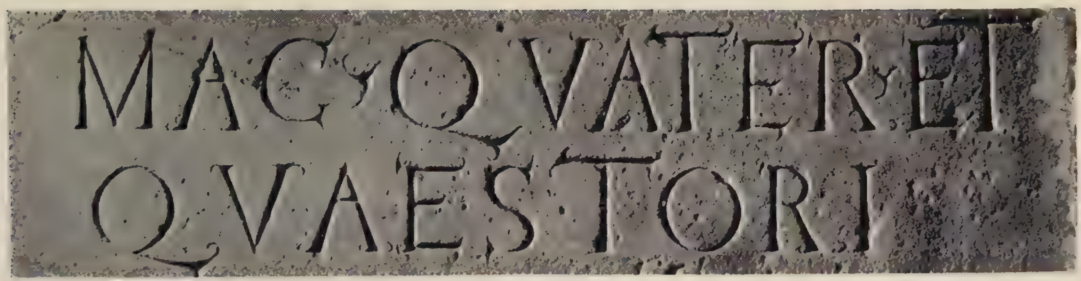
b. Bath: Street Lettering



(*Vatican Library*)

c. Vatican MS Lat. 3256

The Filocalian Letter (pp. 5–13)



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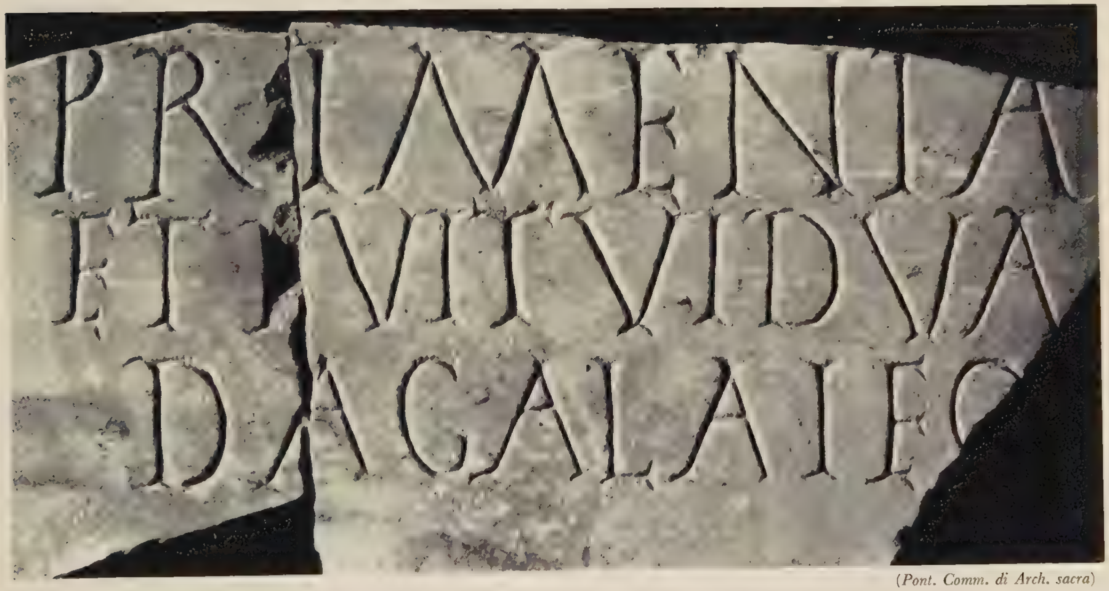
QVAESTORI

(*Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse*)

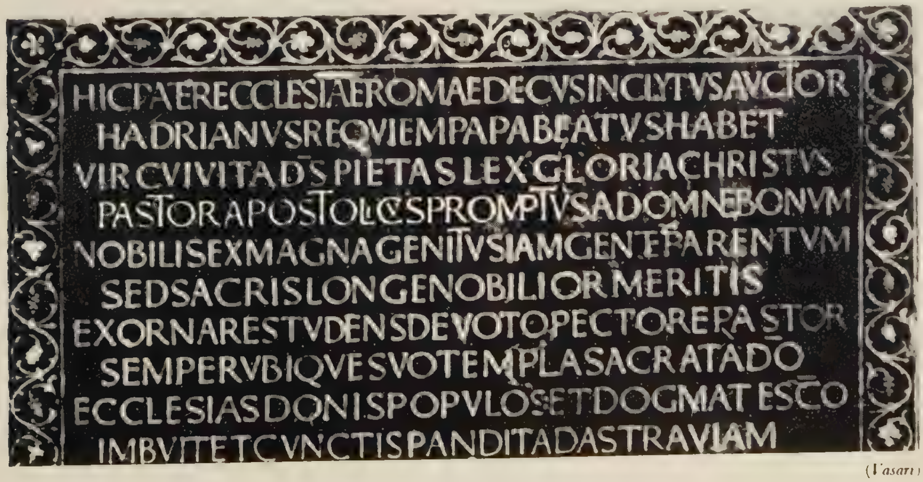
a. Inscription from St. Lizier, near Toulouse



PRIMENIA
ET VIT VIDVA
DAGALAIEC

(*Pont. Comm. di Arch. sacra*)

b. Inscription from the Catacomb of San Sebastiano



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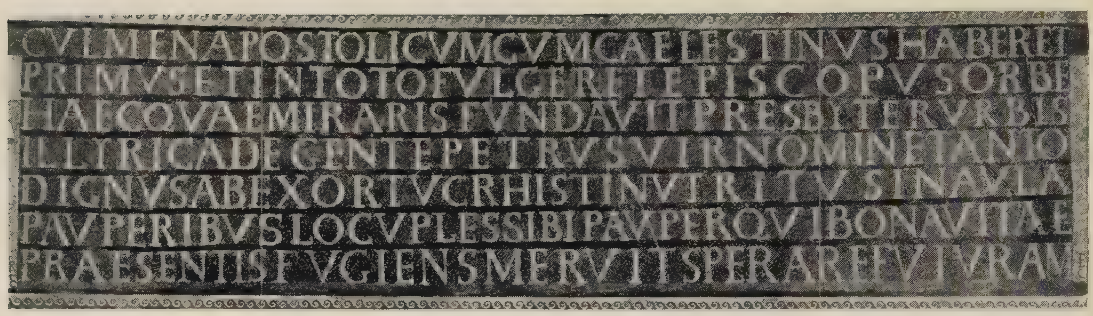
HADRIANVSREQVIEMPAPABEATVSHABET
VIRCVIVITADSPIETASLEXGLORIACHRISTVS
PASTORAPOSTOLICVSPROMPTVSADOMNEBONVM
NOBILISEXMAGNAGENITVSIAMGENTEPARENTVM
SEDSACRISLONGENOBILIORMERITIS
EXORNARESTVDENSDEVOTOPECTOREPASTOR
SEMPERVBIQVESVOTEMPLASACRATADO
ECCLESIASDONISPOPVLOSETDOGMATESCO
IMBVITETCVNCTISPANDITADASTRAVIAM

(*Vasari*)

c. St. Peter's: Epitaph of Pope Hadrian I

The Filocalian Letter (pp. 5–13)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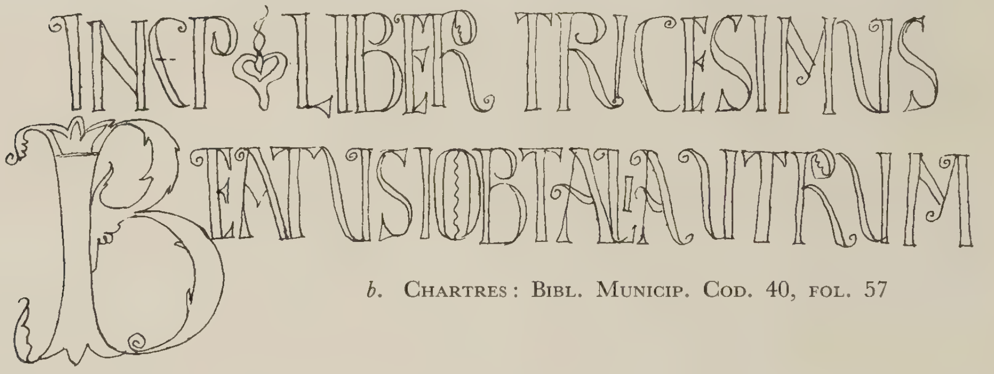
HAECQVAEMIRARISFVNDAVITPRESBYTERVRBIS
ILLYRICADEGENTEPETRVSVIRNOMINETANTO
DIGNVSABEXORTVCHRISTINVTRITVSINAVLA
PAVPERIBVSLOCVPLESSIBIPAVPERQVIBONAVITAE
PRAESENTISFVGIENSMERVITSPERAREFVTVRAM

(*Anderson*)

a. Santa Sabina: Mosaic Inscription of Pope Celestine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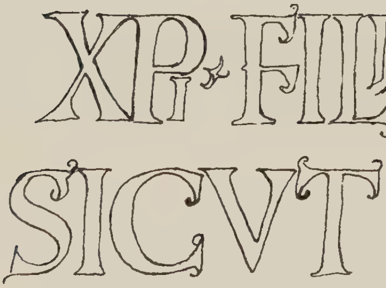
b. Chartres: Bibl. Municip. Cod. 40, fol. 57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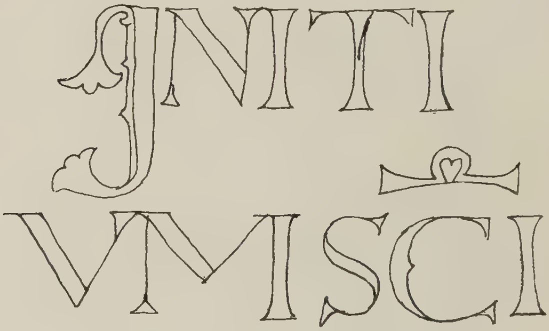
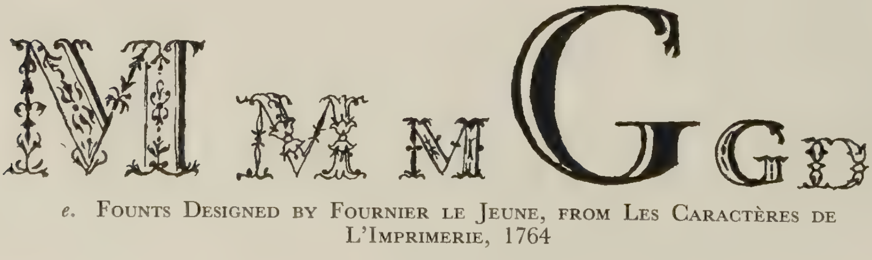
c. Paris: Bibl. Arsenal Cod. 599, fol. 61


GNITI
VMSCI

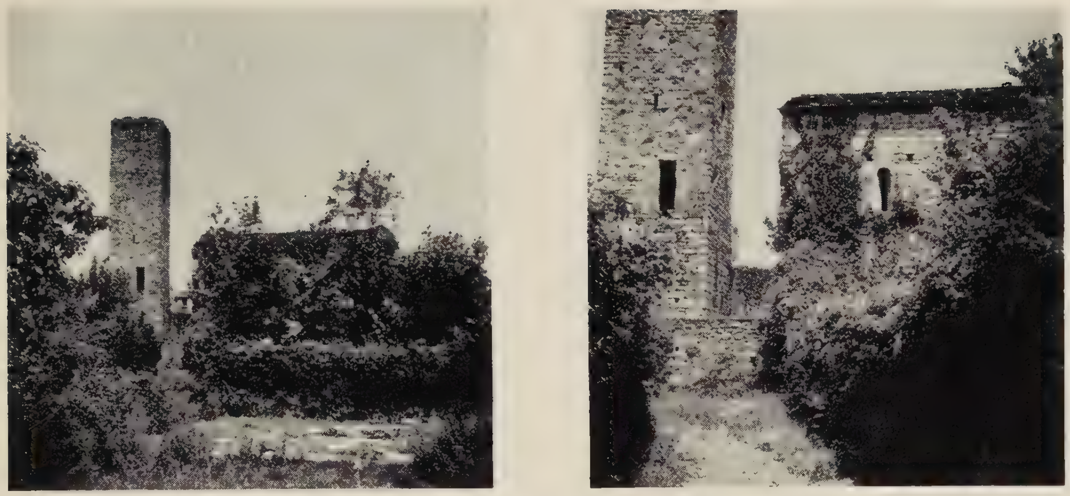
d. Trier: Stadtbibliothek Cod. 23, fol. 62



e. Founts Designed by Fournier le Jeune, from Les Caractères de L'Imprimerie, 1764

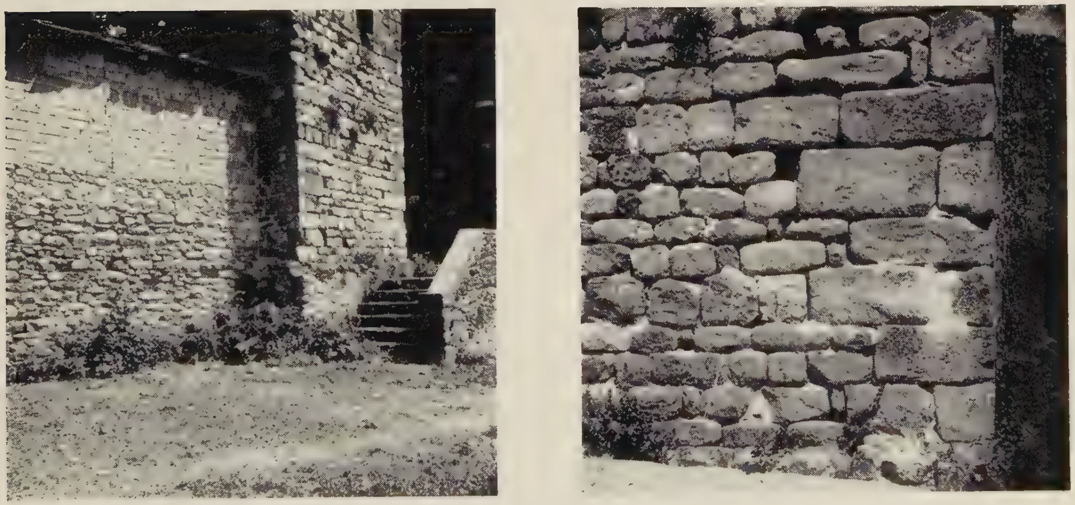
The Filocalian Letter (pp. 5–13)

PLATE V



a. View from the South

b. Tower and Chapel from the South-East

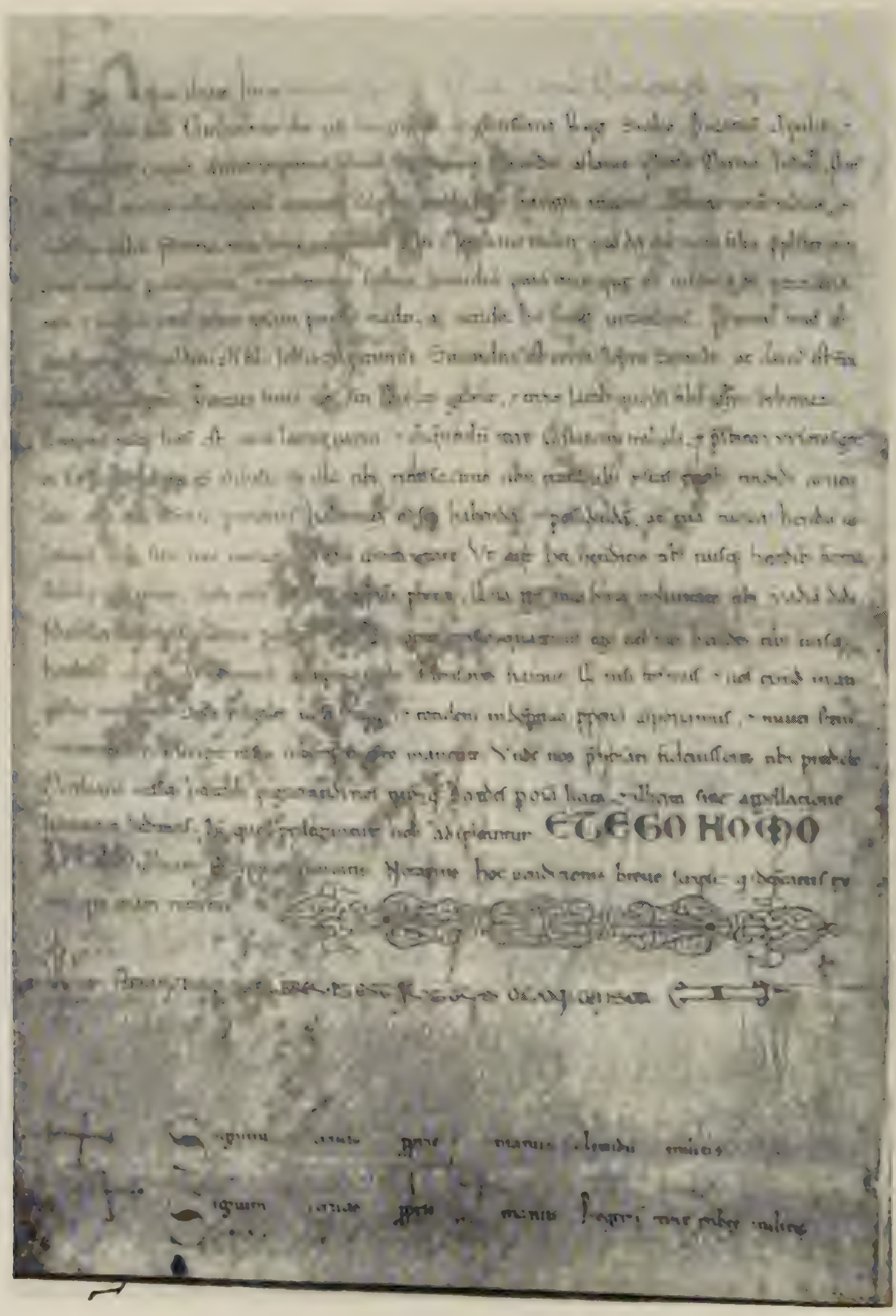


c. Base of Tower and Adjacent Wall

d. Masonry of South-West Angle of Tower

(*Photos: D. A. Bullough*)

A Byzantine (?) Castle in the Val di Magra: *Surianum*-Filattiera (pp. 14–21)

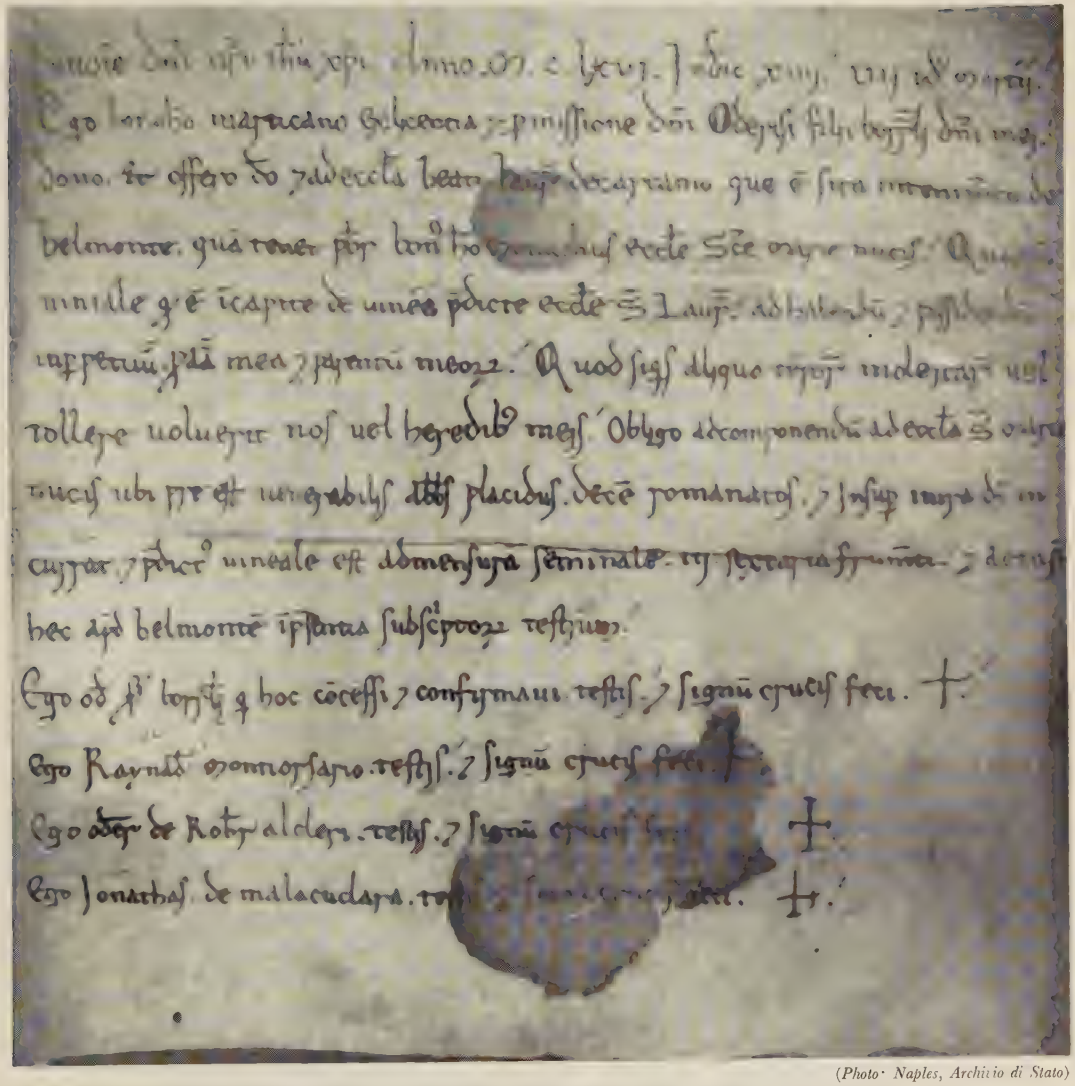


(Photo: Naples, Archivio di Stato)

NAPLES, ARCHIVIO DI STATO: PERGAMENE DI SALPI, NO. 16

LA SCRITTURA MINUSCOLA NELL'ITALIA MERIDIONALE (pp. 60–64)

PLATE VII



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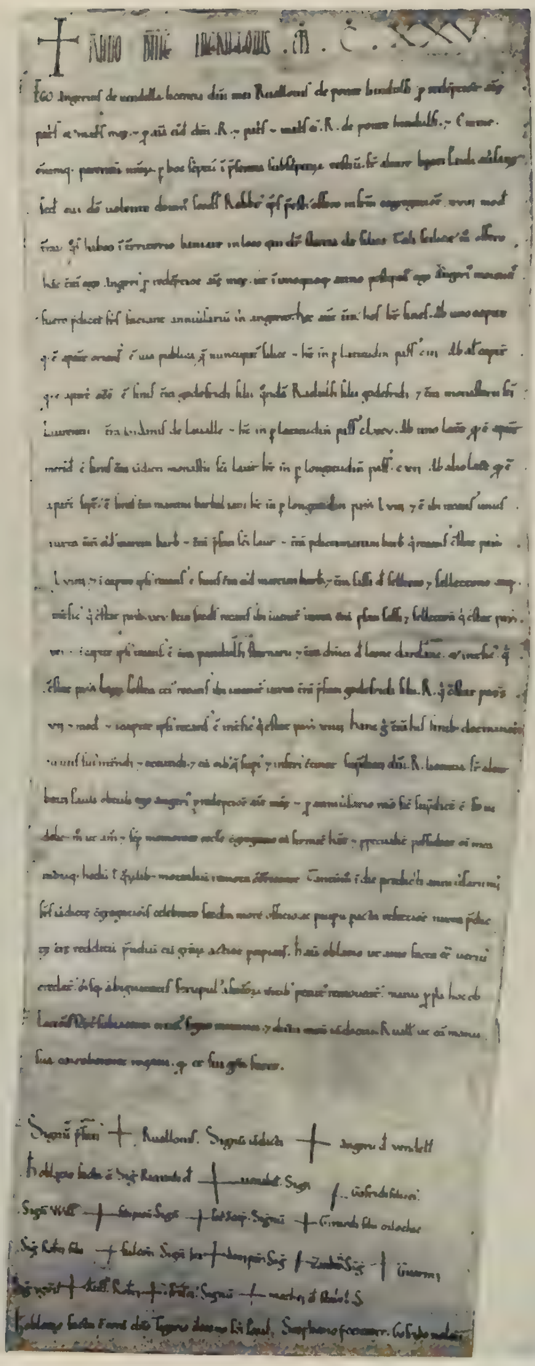
LA SCRITTURA MINUSCOLA NELL'ITALIA MERIDIONALE (pp. 60-61)



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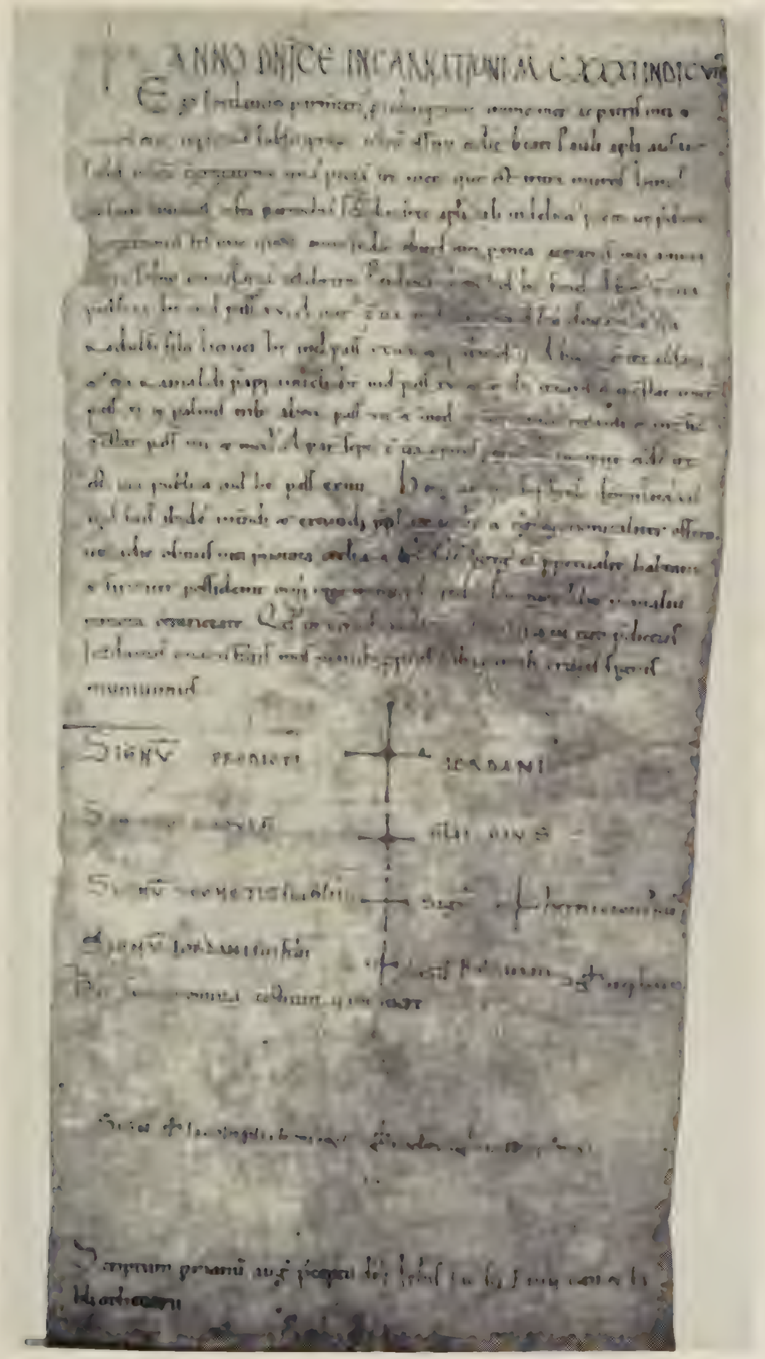
LA SCRITTURA MINUSCOLA NELL'ITALIA MERIDIONALE (pp. 60–64)



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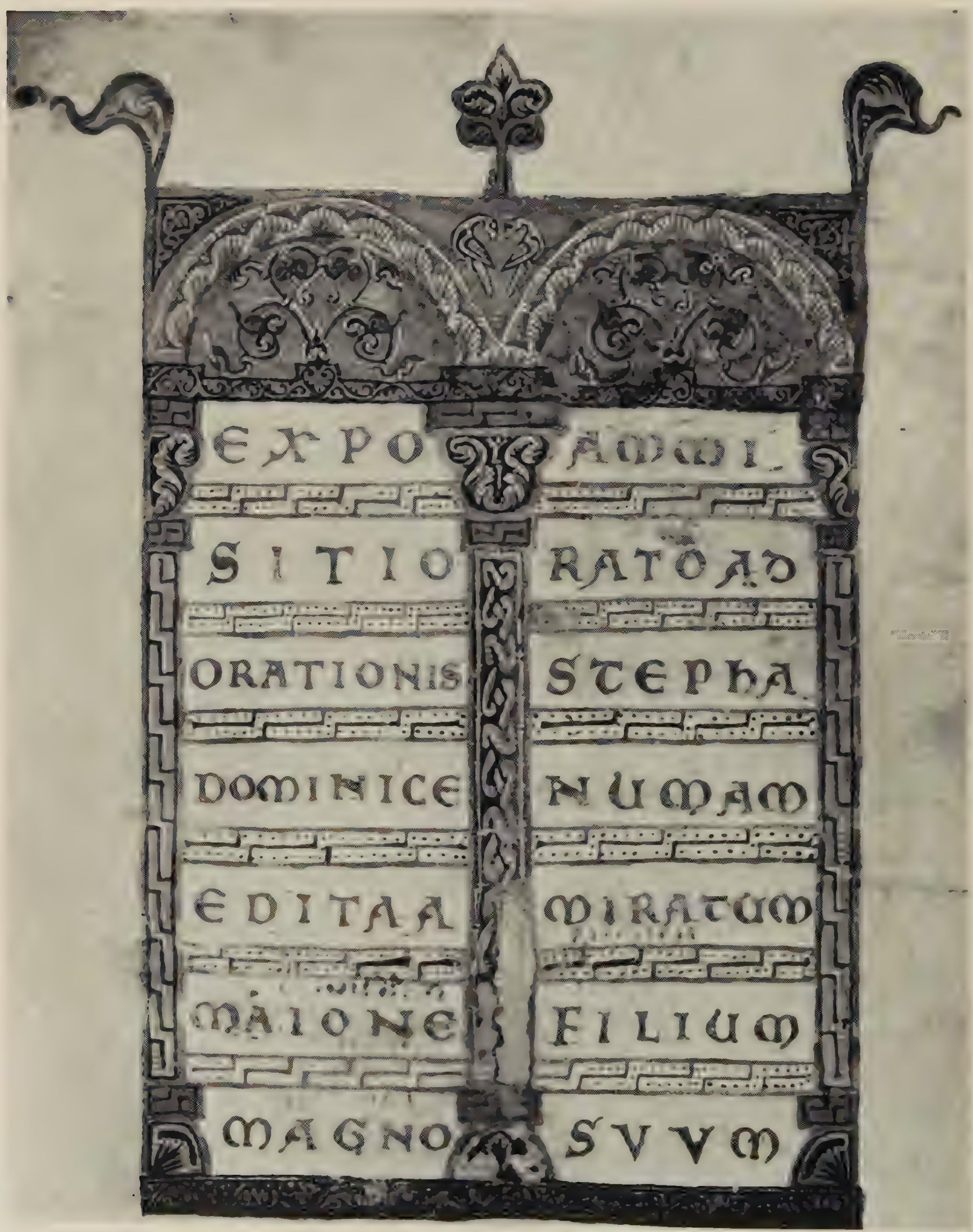
Aversa, Archivio Capitolare: Donat. XI, no. 62

La Scrittura Minuscola nell'Italia Meridionale (pp. 60–64)

PLATE X



EXPO AMMI
SITIO RATŌ AD
ORATIONIS STEPHA
DOMINICE NUMAM
EDITA A MIRATUM
MAIONE FILIUM
MAGNO SVVM

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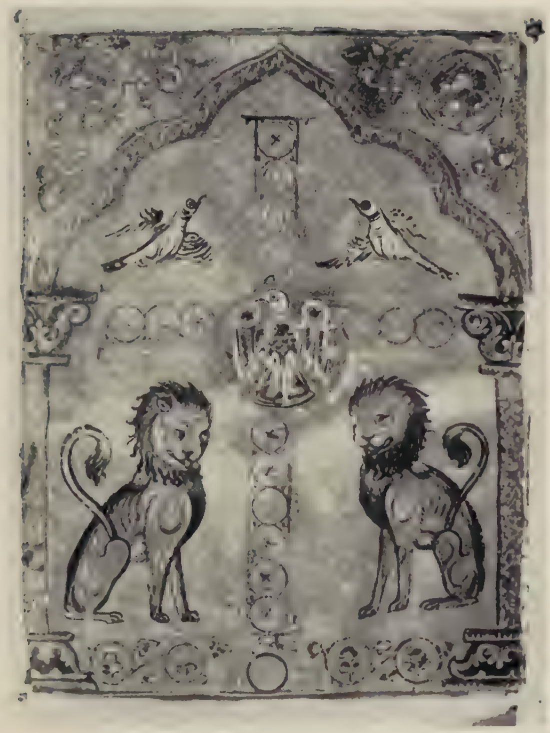
Manuscript Illumination in Norman Sicily (pp. 78–85)

Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. latin 1772, fo. 2v.

PLATE XI



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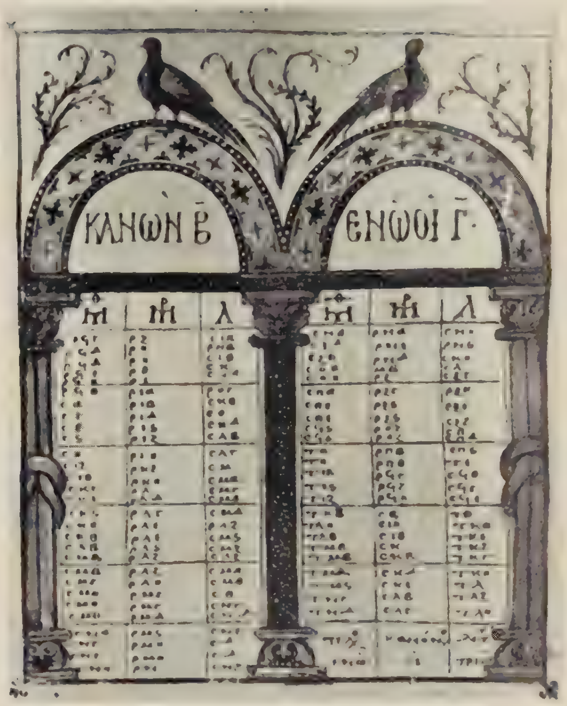
a. Sinai Monastery. gr. 418, fo. 2.



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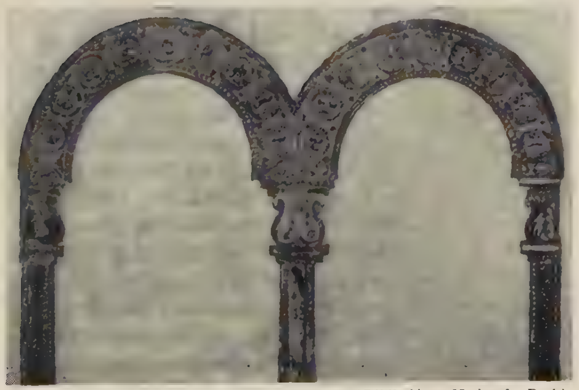
b. Messina, Bibl. Universitaria, S. Salvatore 88 fo. 20^{v}.



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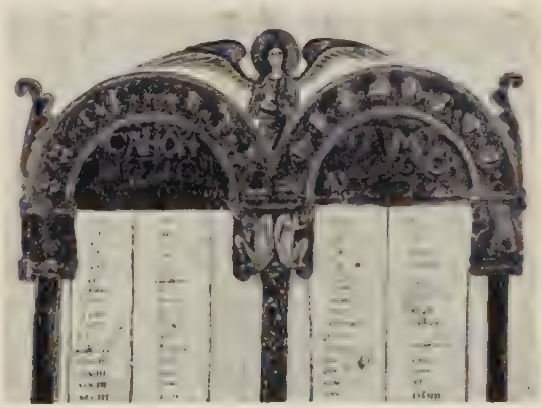

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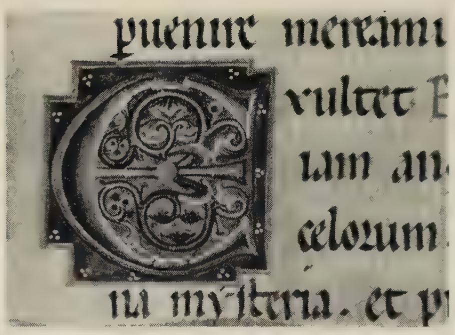
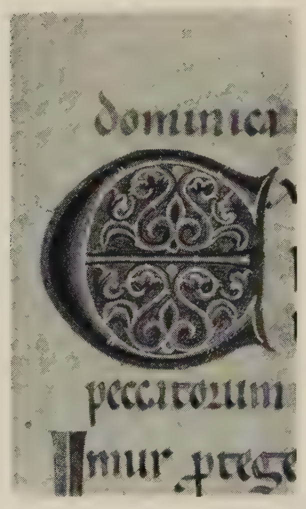
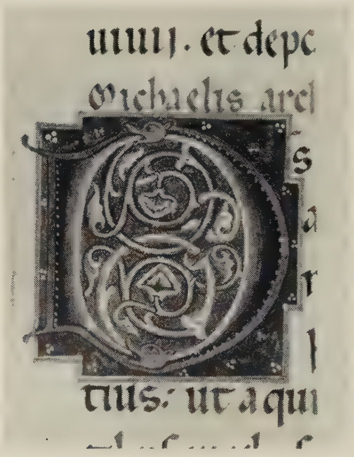
MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION IN NORMAN SICILY (pp. 78–85)



a. Paris, Bibl. Nat., latin 12056, fo. 105.



b. Paris, Bibl. Nat., latin 12056, fo. 151.



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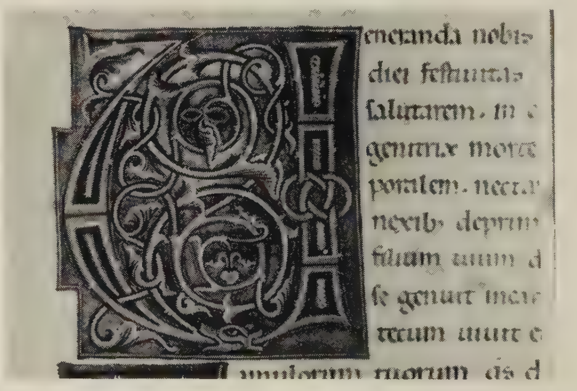
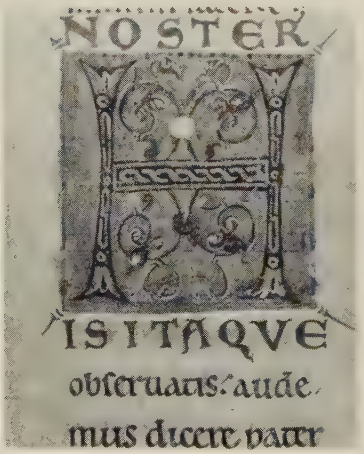


d. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica D.7.3., fo. 139v.



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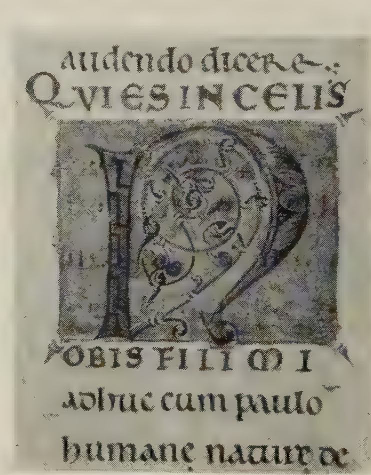

f. Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. latin 1772, fo. 11v.

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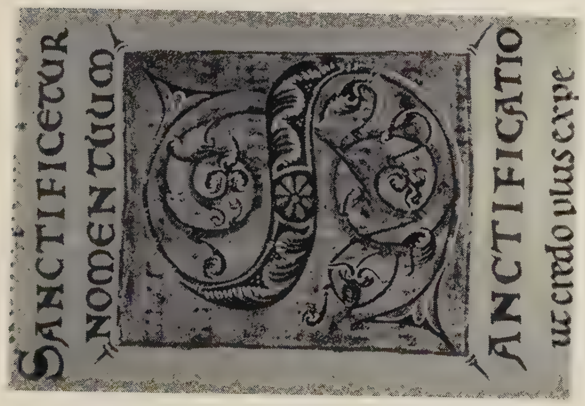
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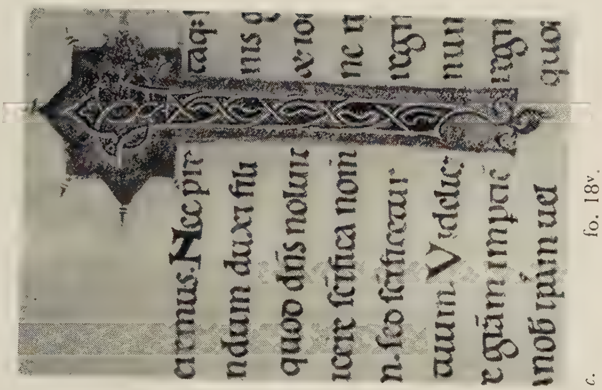
a. fo. 14.



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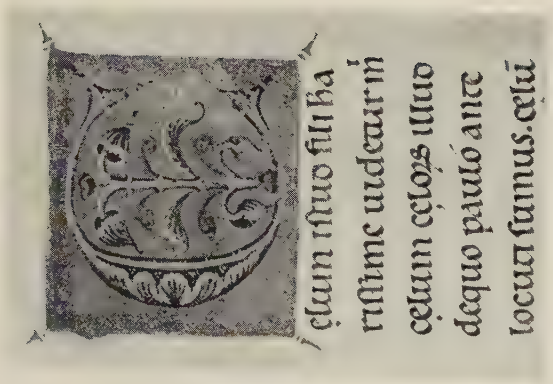

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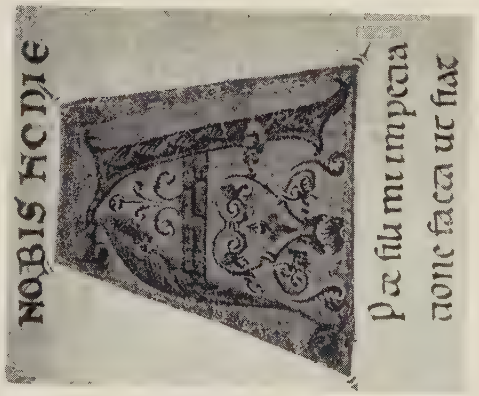
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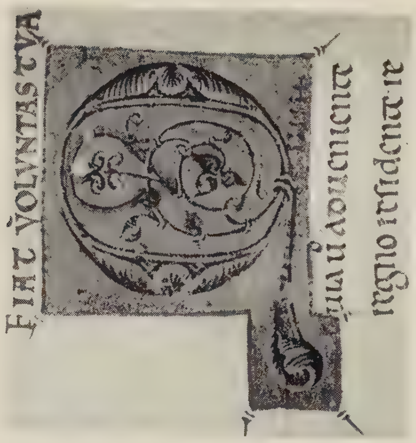
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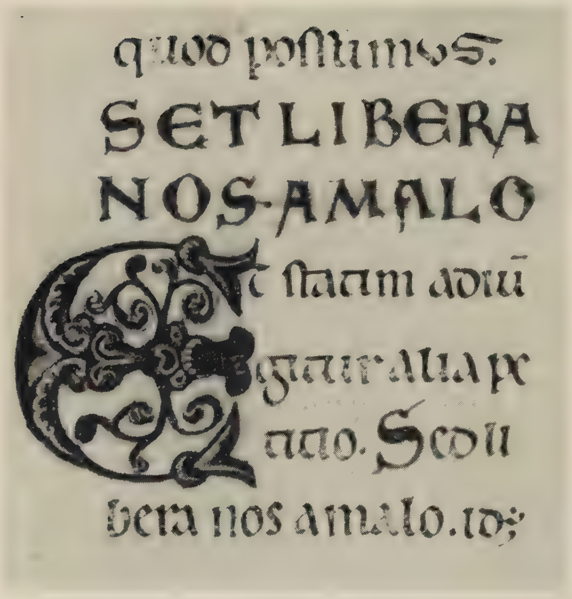
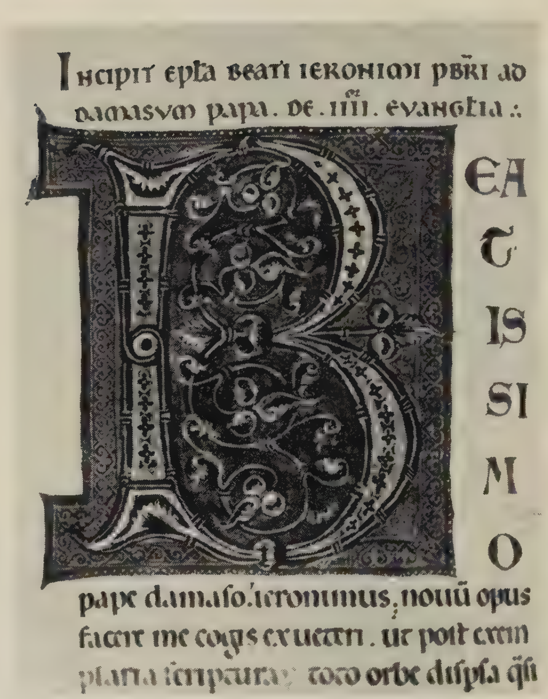
Manuscript Illumination in Norman Sicily (pp. 78–85)

PLATE XIV



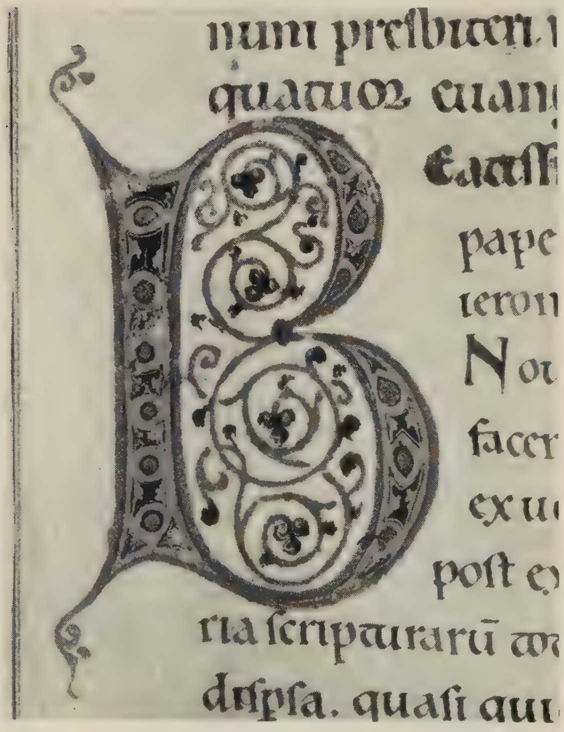
(*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*)

a. Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. latin 1772, fo. 41^{v}.



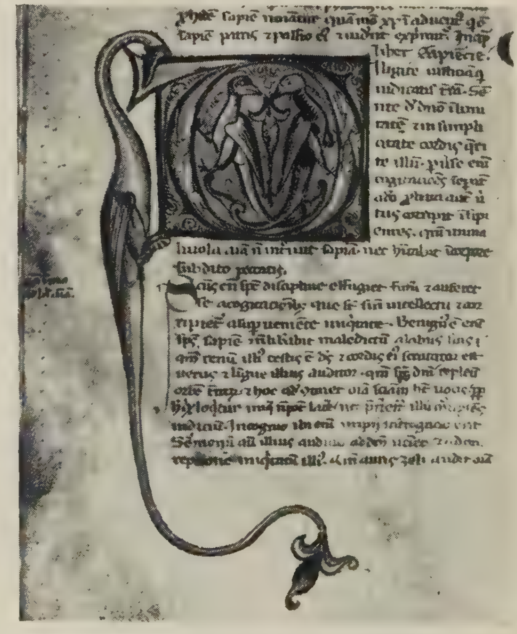
(*Magallón, Madrid*)

b. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacionál 6, fo. 134^{v}.



(*Vatican Library*)

c. Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 42, fo. 3.

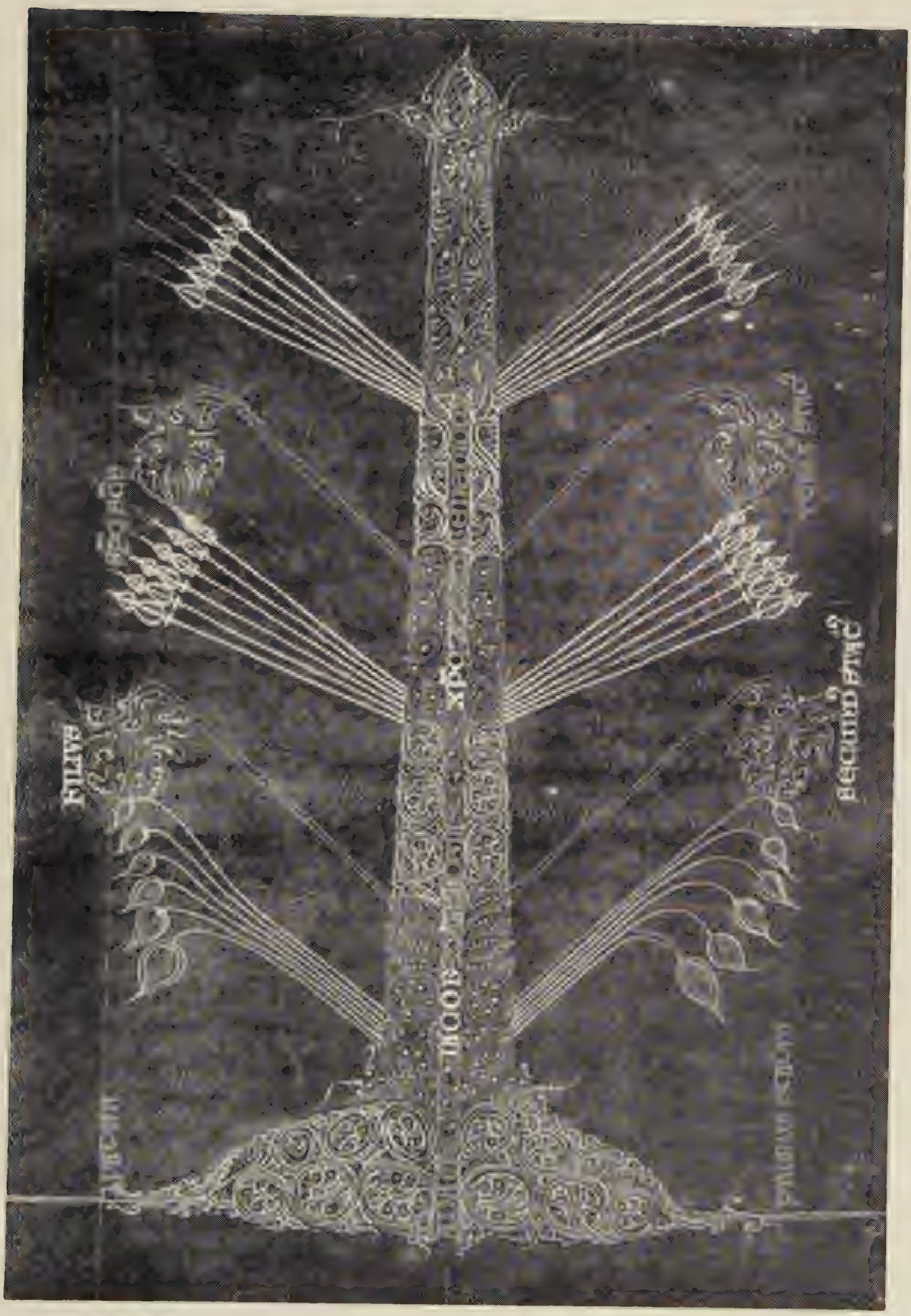


(*Magallón, Madrid*)

d. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacionál 229, fo. 152.

Manuscript Illumination in Norman Sicily (pp. 78–85)

PLATE XV

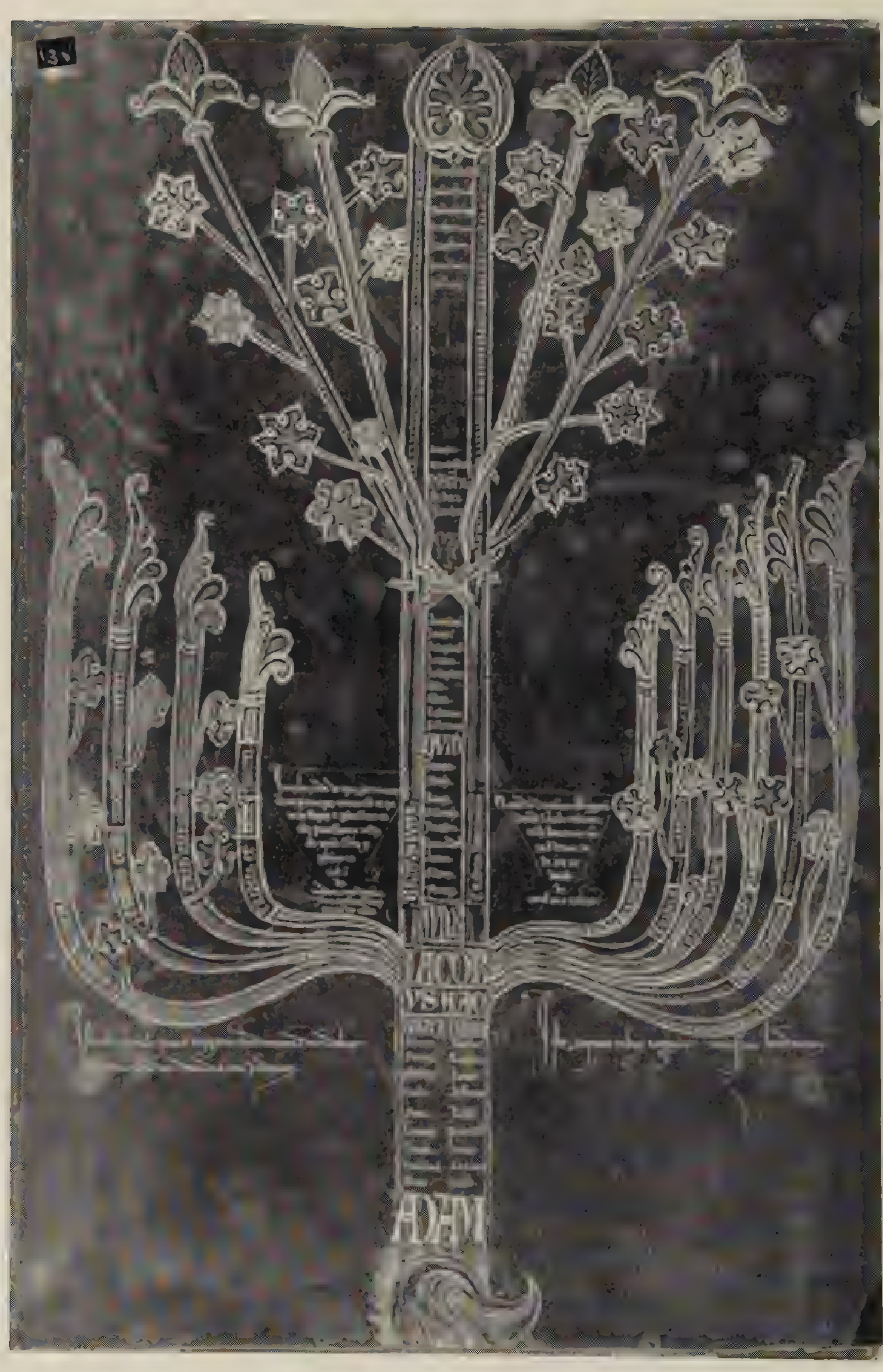


(*Vatican Library*)

VATICAN MS. LAT. 4861, FOL. 211*v*

THE *Arbores* OF JOACHIM OF FIORE (pp. 124–36)

PLATE XVI

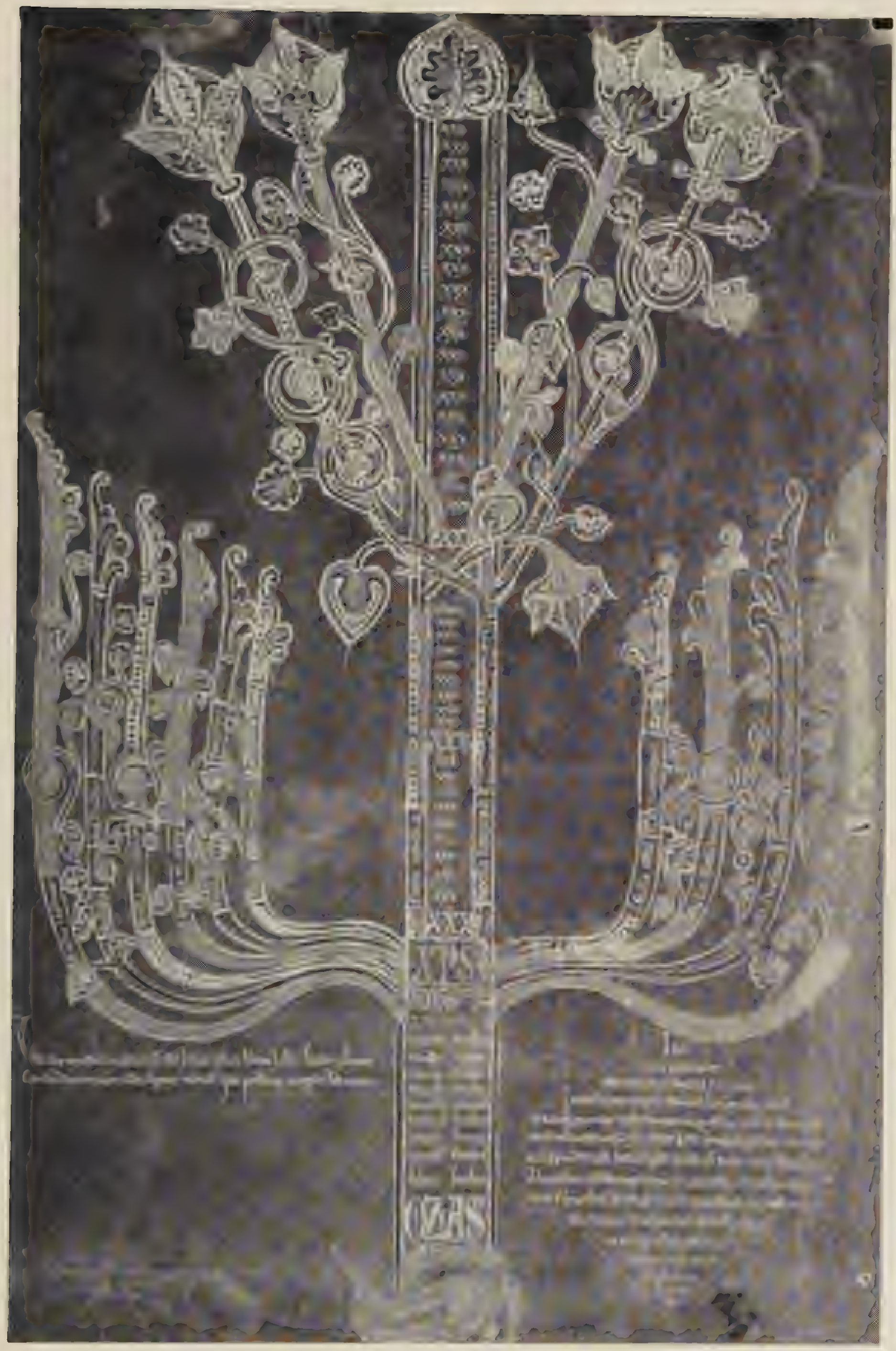

13v
IACOB
ADAM

(Oxford, Bodleian Library)

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 255A, fol. 10*v*

The *Arbores* of Joachim of Fiore (pp. 124–36)

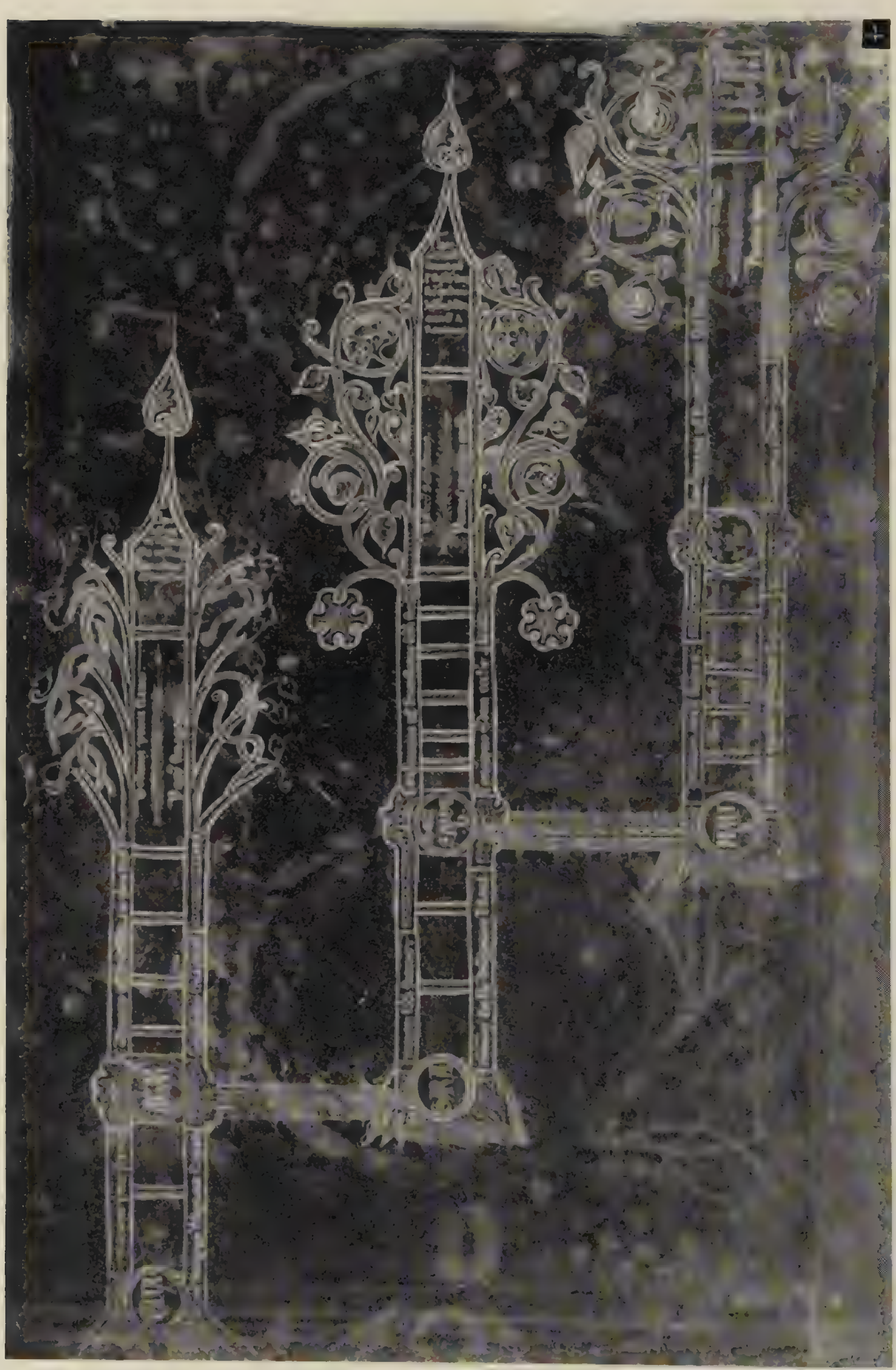
PLATE XVII



(*Oxford, Bodleian Library*)

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 255A, fol. 11*r*

The *Arbores* of Joachim of Fiore (pp. 124–36)

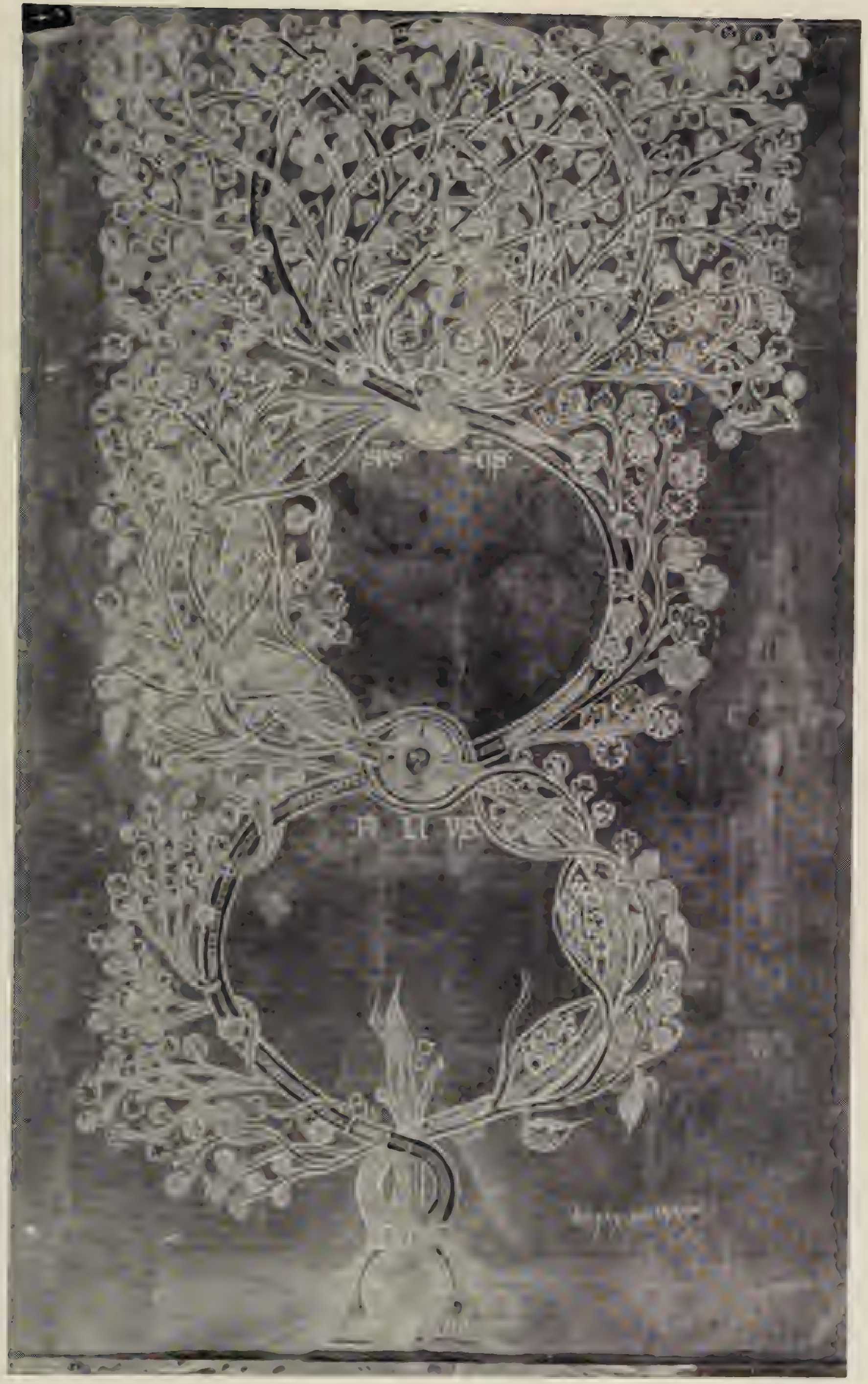


(*Oxford, Bodleian Library*)

OXFORD, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS. 255A, FOL. 12*r*.

THE *Arbores* OF JOACHIM OF FIORE (pp. 124–36)

PLATE XIX

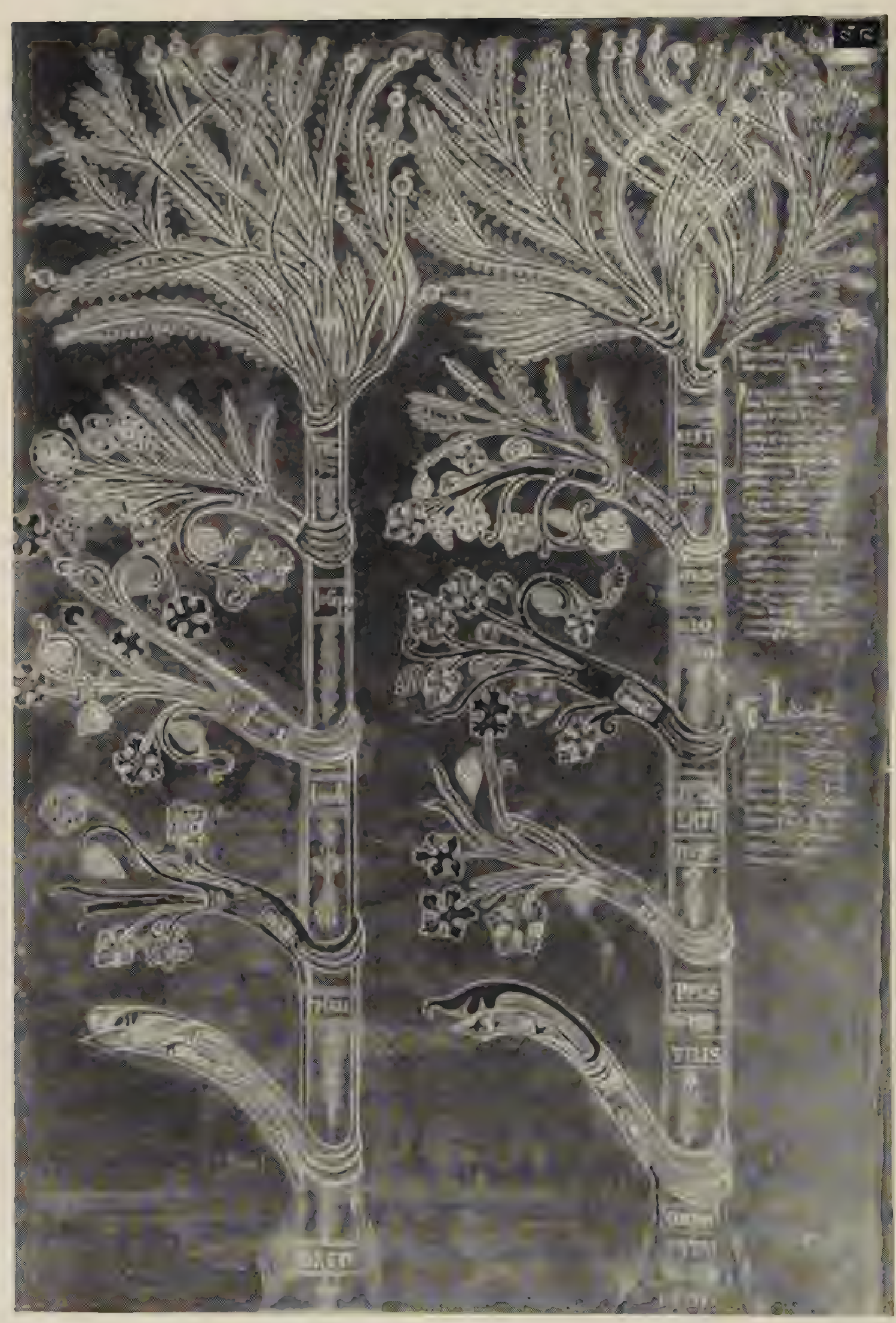


(Oxford, Bodleian Library)

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 255A, fol. 12*v*.

The *Arbores* of Joachim of Fiore (pp. 124–36)

PLATE XX

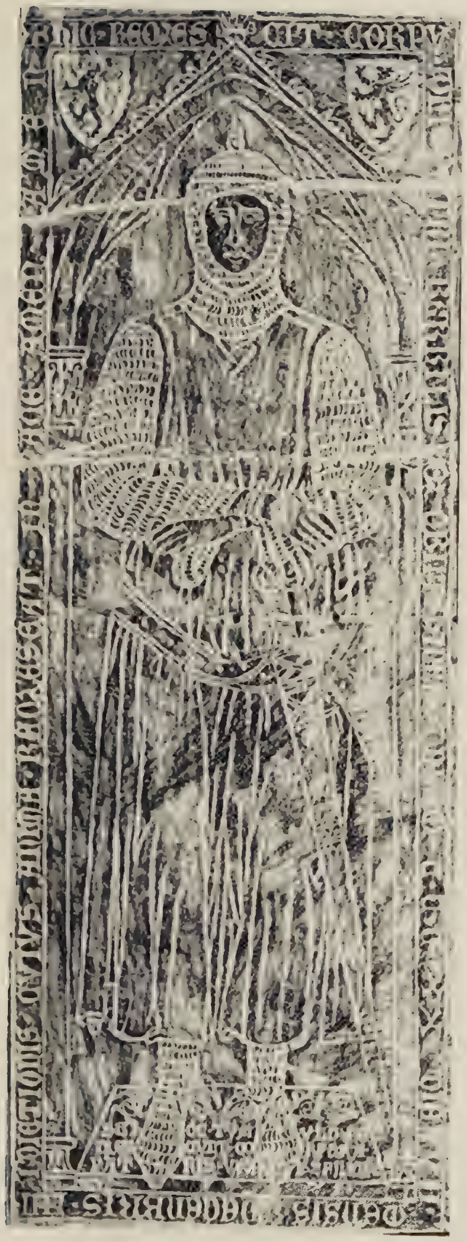


(*Oxford, Bodleian Library*)

OXFORD, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS. 255A, FOL. 13*r*.

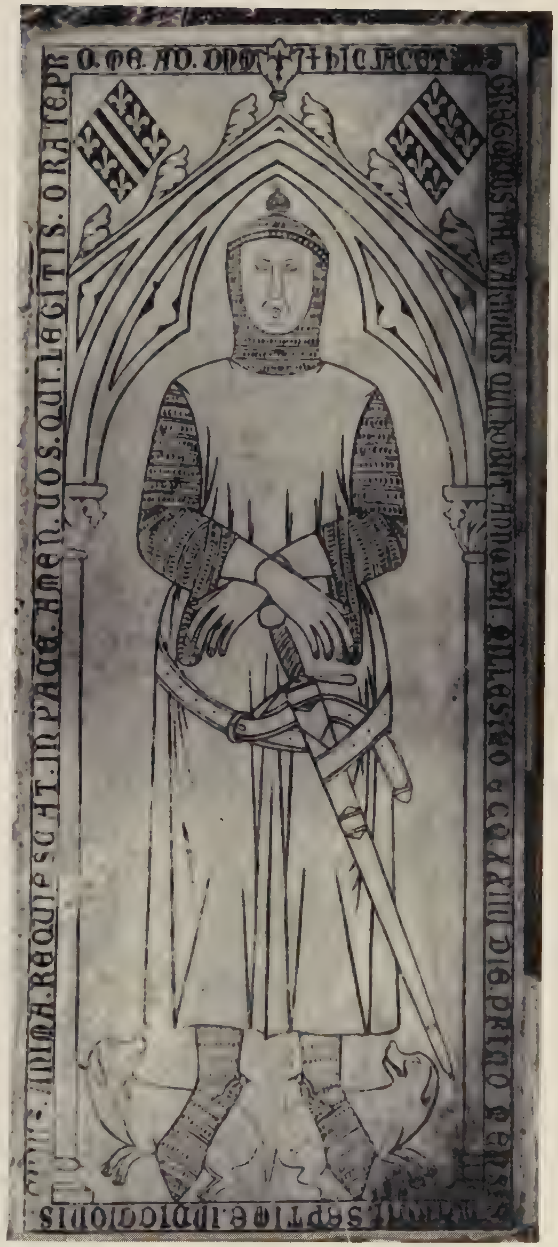
THE *Arbores* OF JOACHIM OF FIORE (pp. 124–36)

PLATE XXI



(*from a rubbing*)

a. Pietro Barrili, 1320, in S. Lorenzo Maggiore

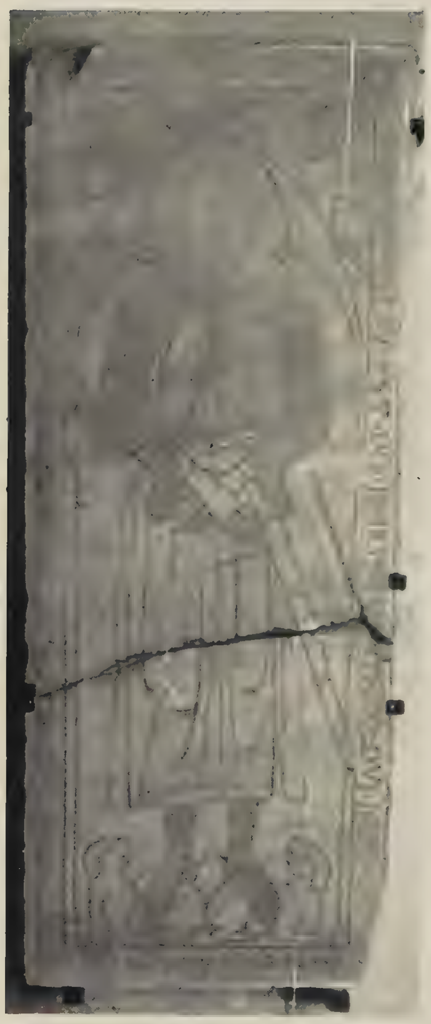


(*A. Sheldon Pennoyer*)

b. Gregorio Filomarino, 1324, in the Cathedral

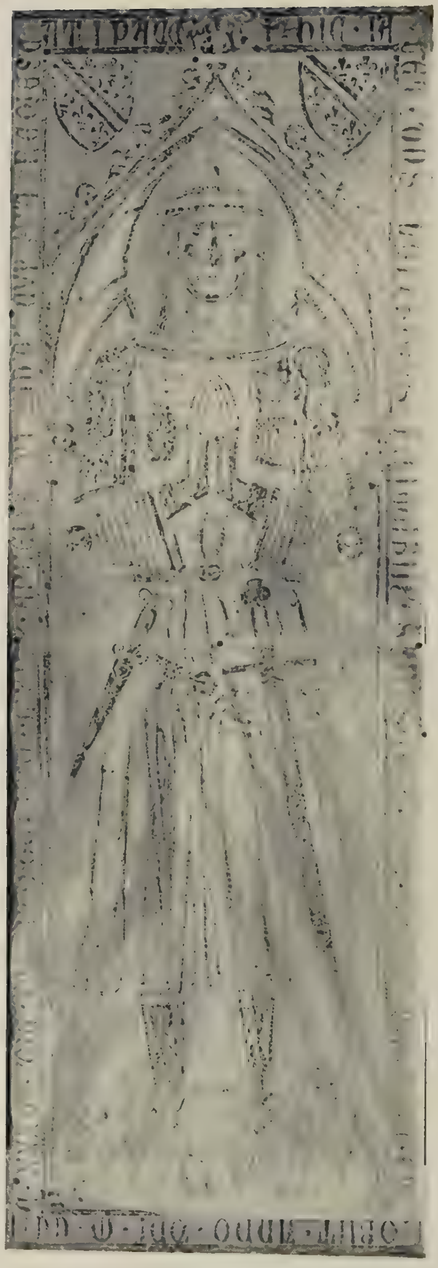
Naples: Fourteenth-century Incised Tomb-slabs (pp. 158–73)

PLATE XXII



(*A. Sheldon Pennoyer*)

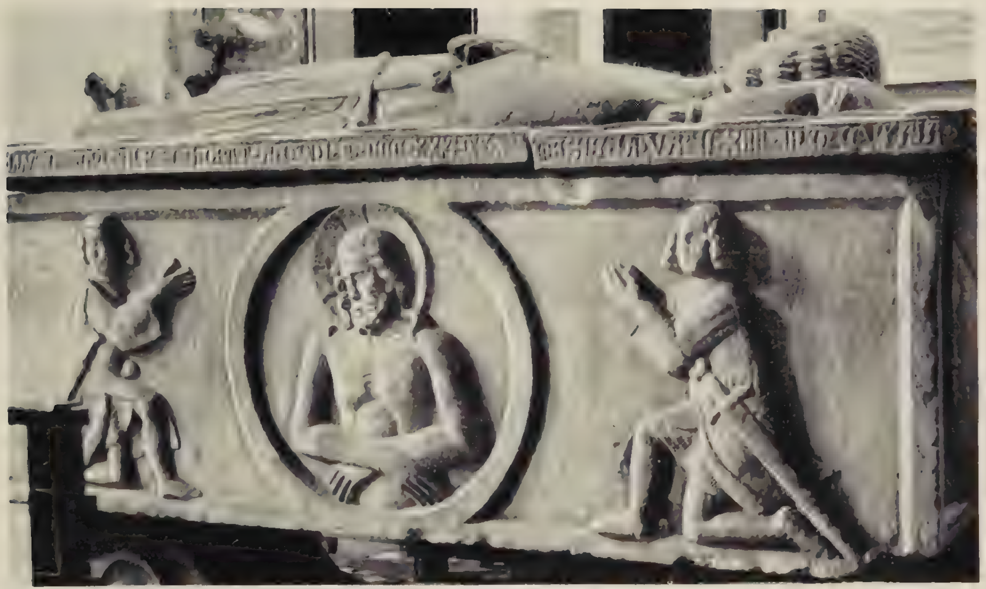
a. Francesco de Loffredo, *c.* 1325, in S. Maria di Donna Regina (incised)



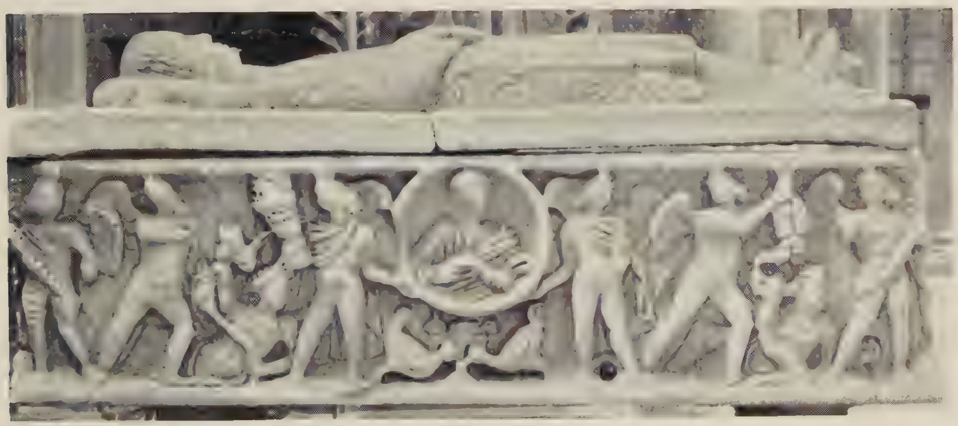
b. Loffredo Filomarino, 1335, in the Cathedral (low relief)

(*from a rubbing*)

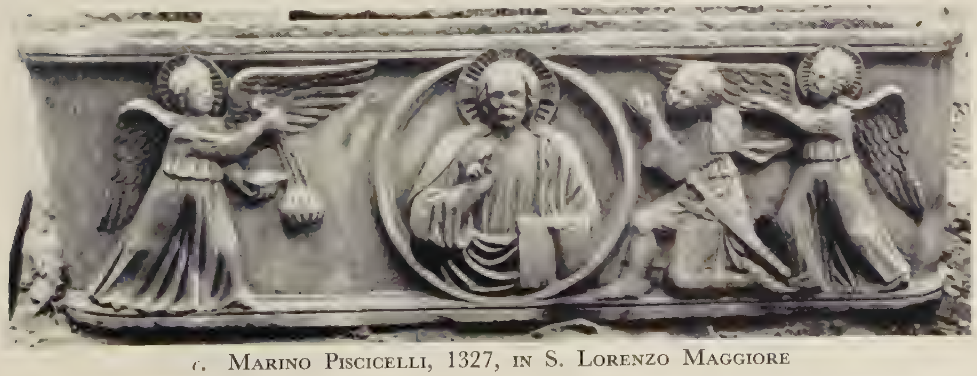
Naples: Fourteenth-century Tomb-slabs (pp. 158–73)



a. Riccardo Piscicelli, 1331, in S. Restituta (*front*)



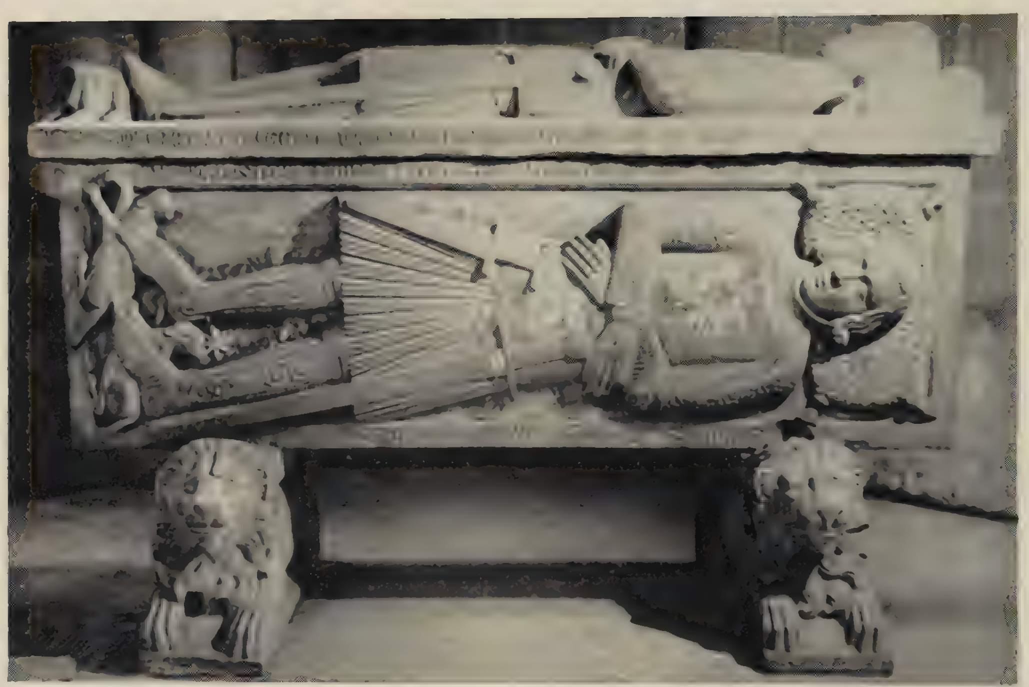
b. Riccardo Piscicelli, 1331, in S. Restituta (*back*)



c. Marino Piscicelli, 1327, in S. Lorenzo Maggiore

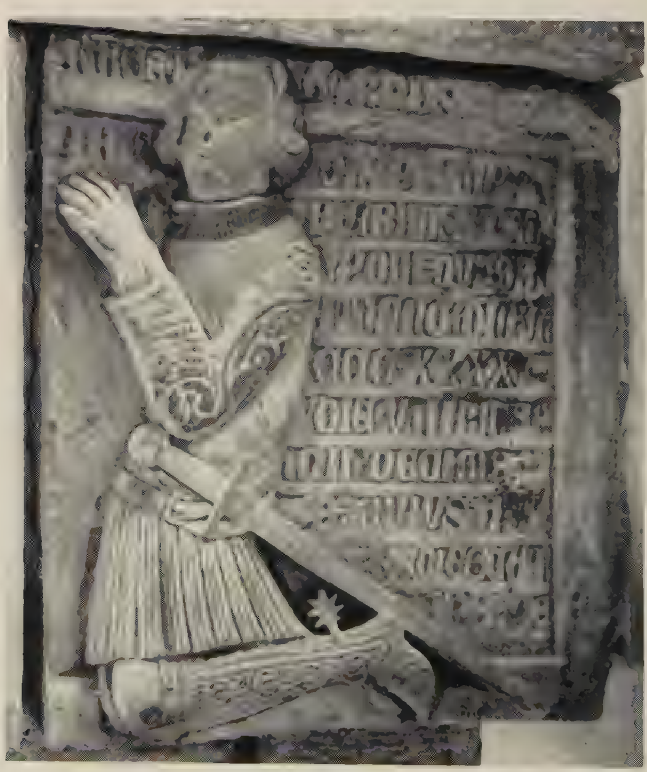
(*Photos: a, b, Superintendency of Galleries, Naples; c, A. Sheldon Pennoyer*)

Naples: Fourteenth-century Tombs (pp. 158–73)



(*A. Sheldon Pennoyer*)

a. GIOVANNI (*top*) AND NICOLA (*front*) BARRILI

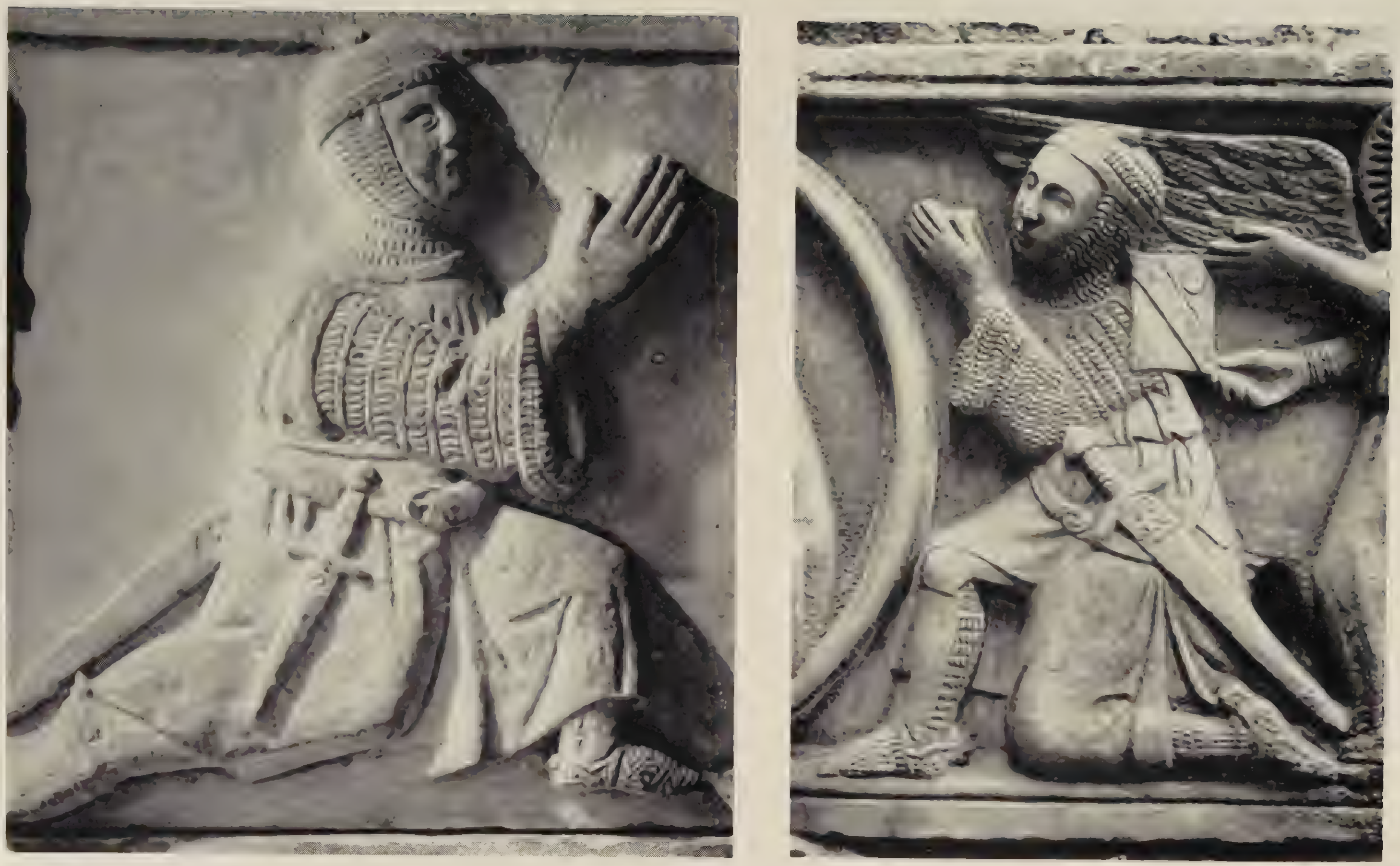


(*A. Sheldon Pennoyer*)

b. FILIPPO BARRILI (*right-hand end*)

NAPLES: TOMB OF GIOVANNI BARRILI, 1356, in S. LORENZO MAGGIORE (pp.158–73)

PLATE XXV



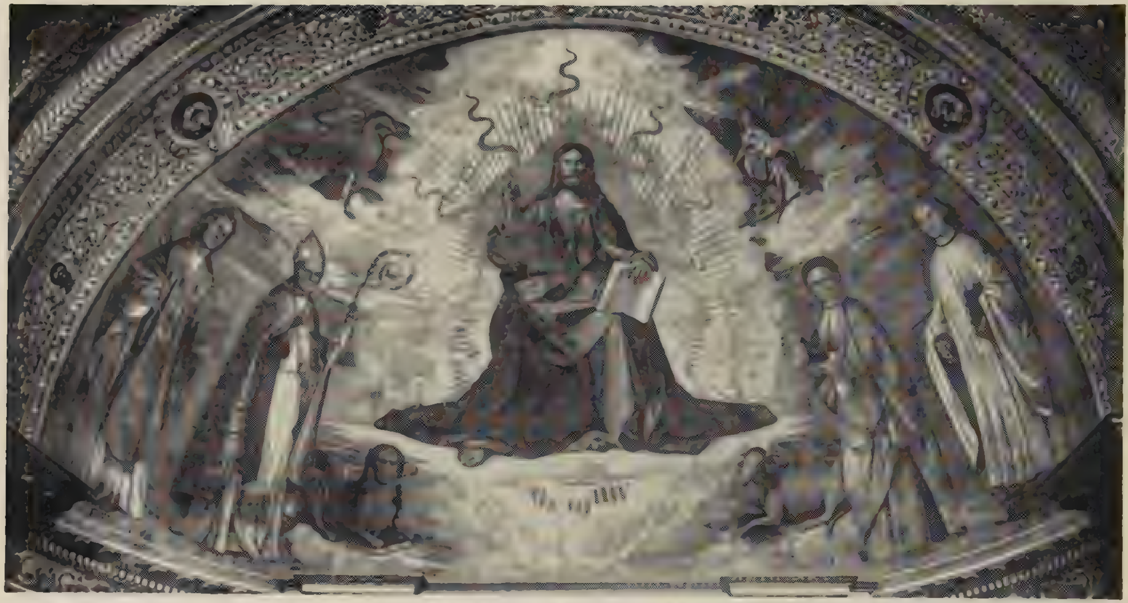
a. LOFFREDO FILOMARINO, 1335, IN THE CATHEDRAL

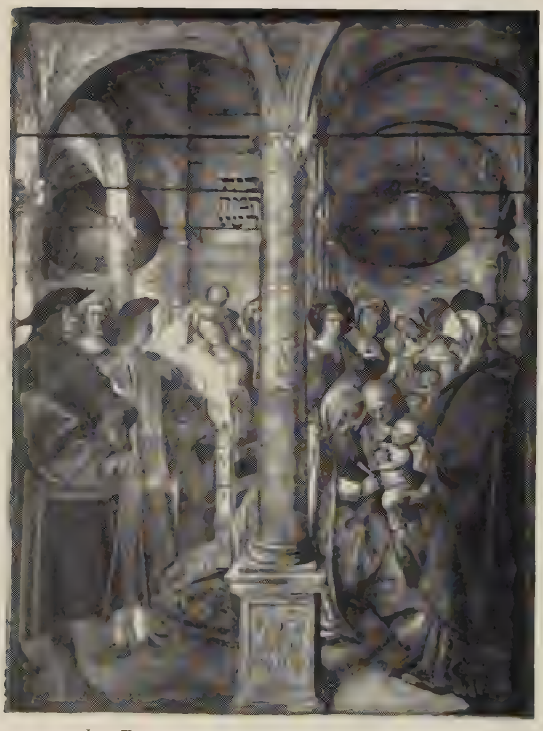
b. MARINO PISCICELLI, 1327, IN S. LORENZO MAGGIORE

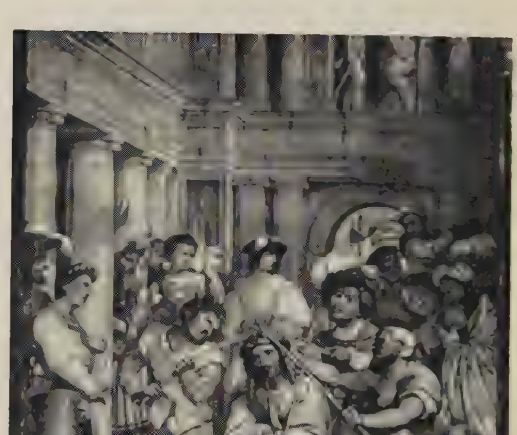
(*Photos: A. Sheldon Pennoy*)

NAPLES: DETAILS OF FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TOMBS (pp. 158–73)

PLATE XXVI


a. Boccaccino : Christ in Majesty

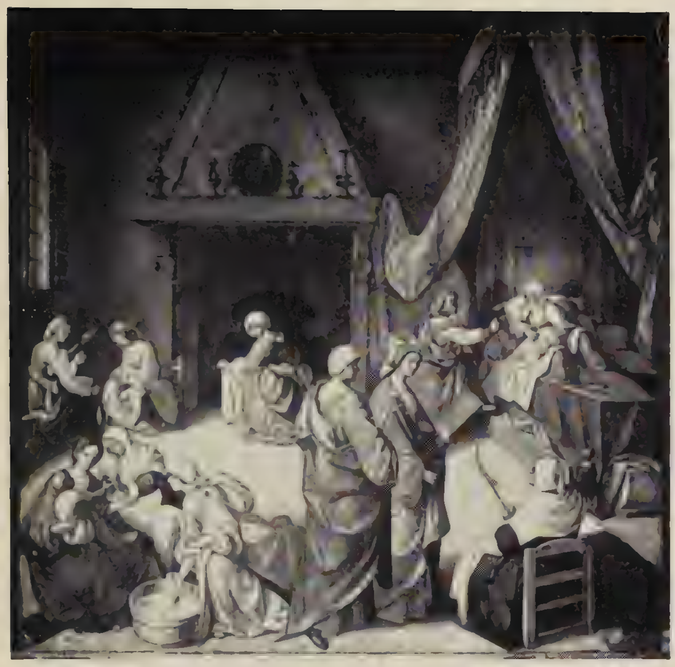

b. Boccaccino : The Circumcision


c. Romanino : The Crowning with Thorns

(*Photos: Alinari*)

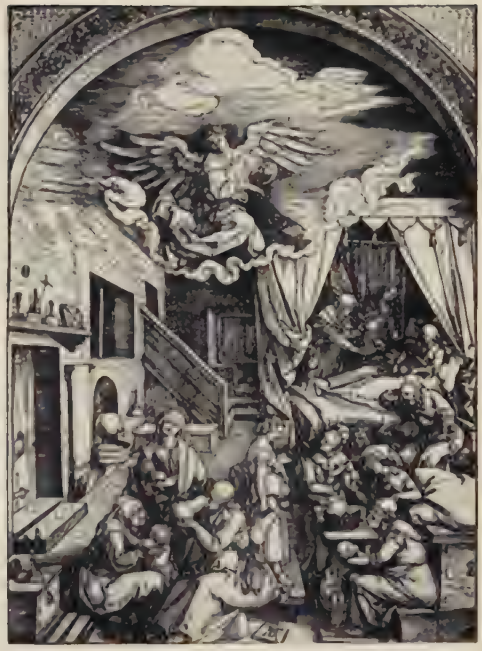
Frescoes in Cremona Cathedral (pp. 206–15)

PLATE XXVII



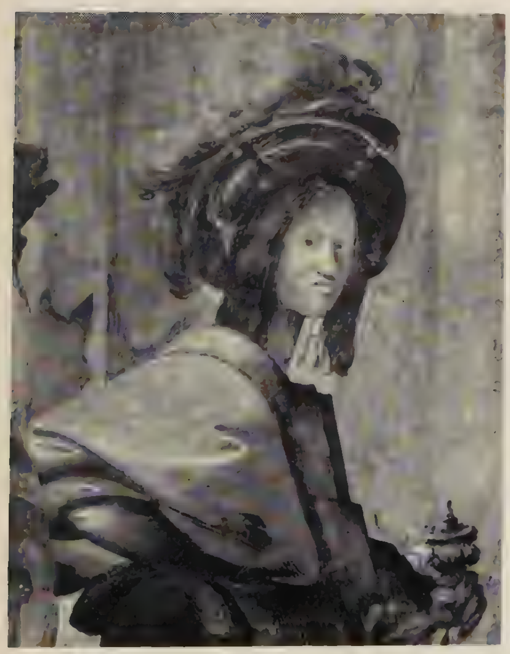
(Alinari)

a. Boccaccino : Birth of the Virgin



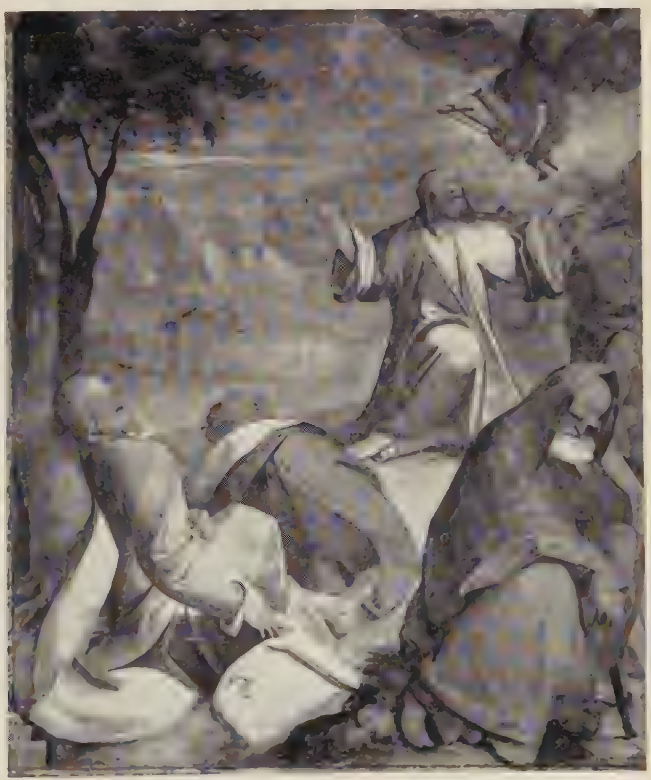
(*Courtauld Institute*)

b. Dürer : Birth of the Virgin



(*Alinari*)

c. Bembo : Adoration of the Magi

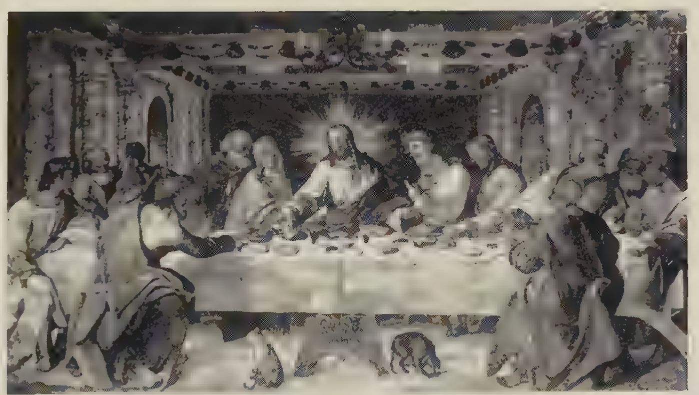


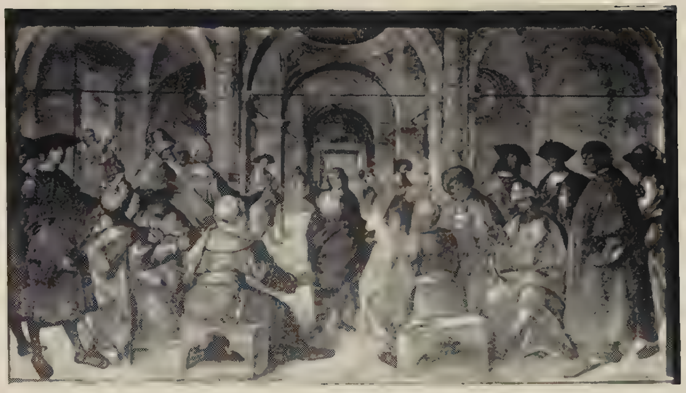
(*Alinari*)

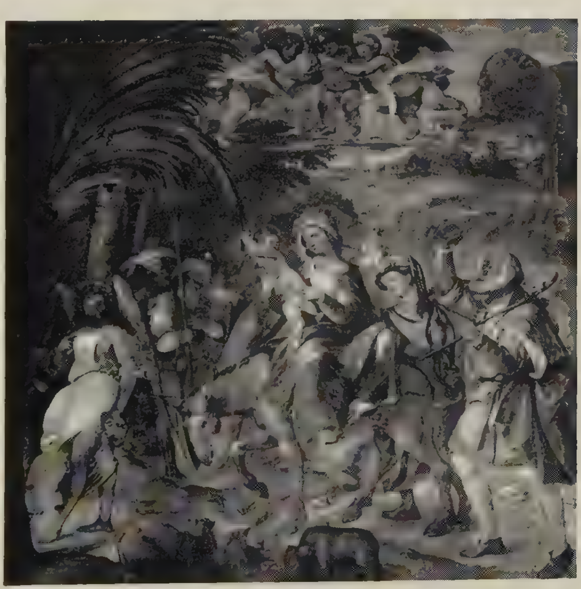
d. Melone : Christ in the Garden

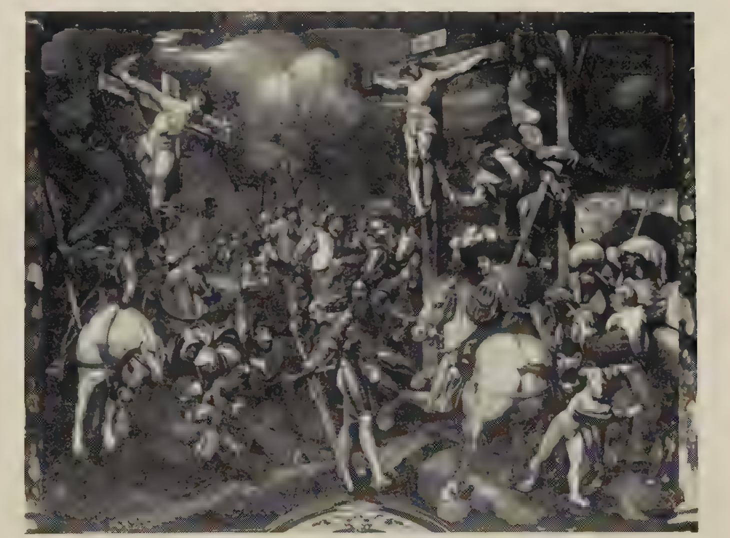
Frescoes in Cremona Cathedral (pp. 206–15)

PLATE XXVIII


a. Melone: The Last Supper

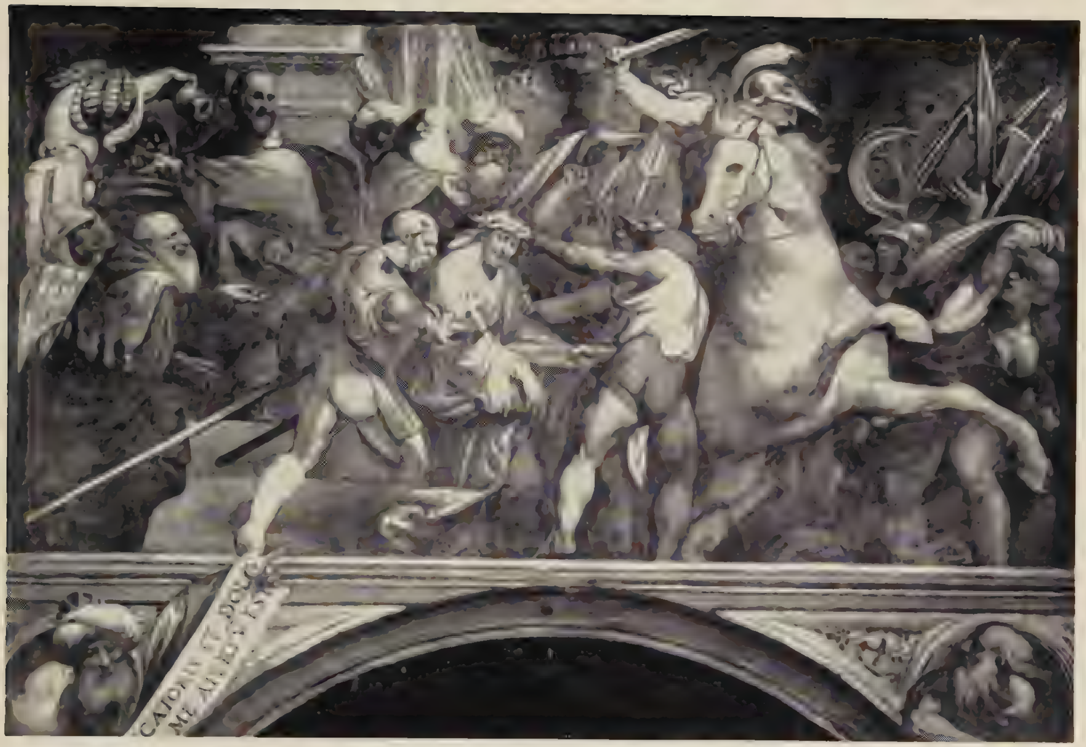

b. Boccaccino: Christ Among the Doctors


c. Melone: The Flight into Egypt


d. Pordenone: The Crucifixion

(*Photos: Alinari*)

Frescoes in Cremona Cathedral (pp. 206–15)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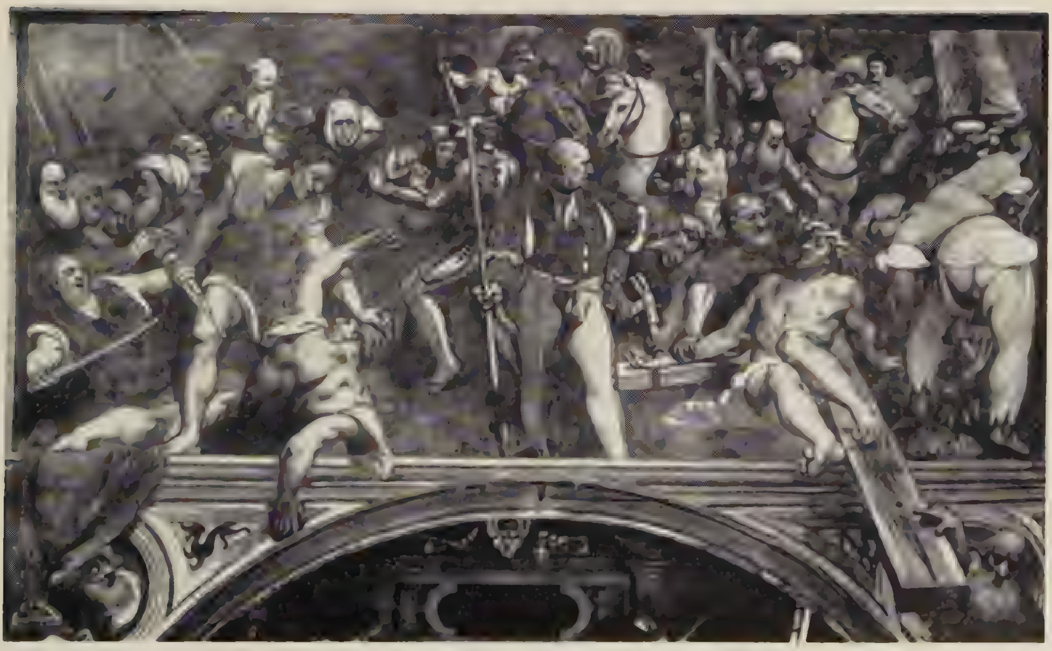
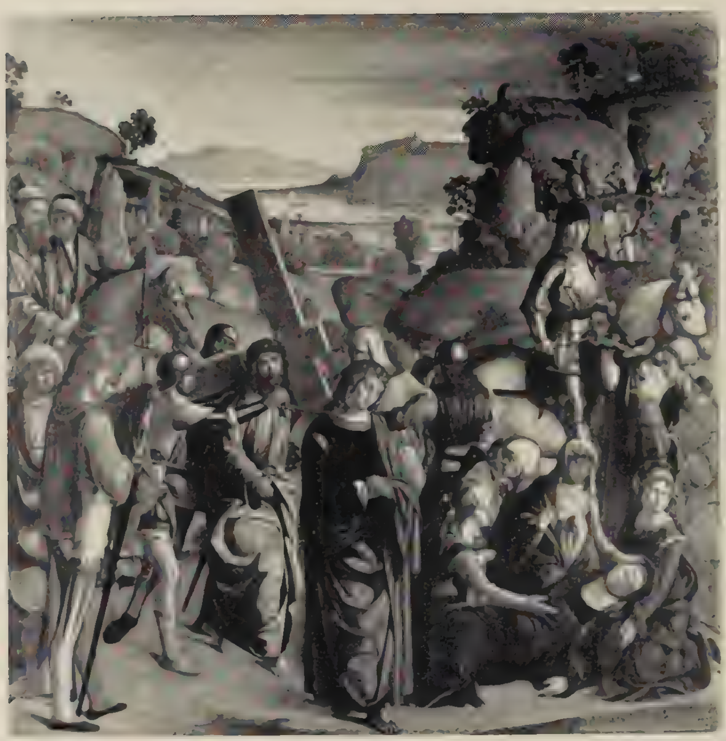
a. Pordenone: Christ Led to Calvary



b. Pordenone: Christ Nailed to the Cross

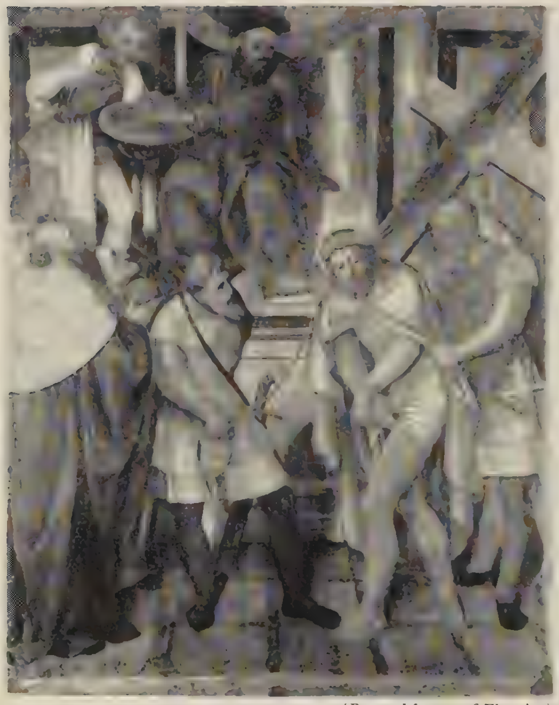
(*Photos: Alinari*)

Frescoes in Cremona Cathedral (pp. 206–15)



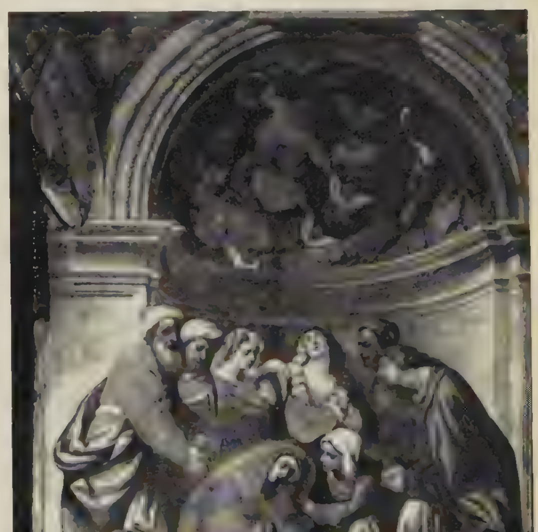
(*National Gallery*)

a. Boccaccino : The Road to Calvary



(*Boston Museum of Fine Arts*)

b. Paolo Zoppo : Christ Before Pilate



(*Alinari*)

c. Pordenone : The Deposition

Frescoes in Cremona Cathedral (pp. 206–15)

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